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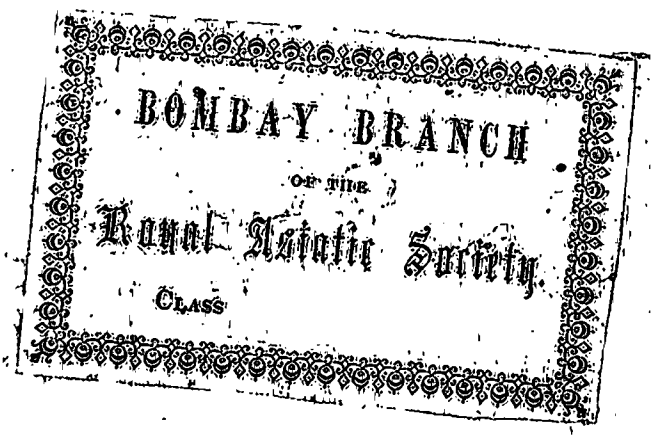

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VOYAGE

TO

SOUTH AMERICA.

VOYAGE

TO

SOUTH AMERICA,

PERFORMED

BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

IN THE YEARS 1817 AND 1818,

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Frigate Congress.

By H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, Esq.

SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Dedication.

TO

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH,

AS A TESTIMONY OF,
AS WELL THOSE SPLENDID TALENTS WHICH ADORN
THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND,
THAT ELOQUENCE WHICH ILLUMINES THE
BRITISH SENATE,
AND IS BRIGHTLY REFLECTED ACROSS THE ATLANTIC,
AS OF
THAT SUBLIME EXPANSION OF MIND,
WHICH COMPREHENDS AND FULLY APPRECIATES THE
FUTURE DESTINIES OF AMERICA,
BOTH OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH,

These Volumes are inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

A COMMON complaint is, the want of information on the subject of South America, but the meaning of all who make it, is not precisely the same. By far the greater number, having given but little attention to the geography and history of that vast continent, seem to think that the deficiency lies in the stock of information already accumulated. This, however, is a mistake; for the works already published, ancient and modern, are sufficient to occupy years of study. The writings of Robertson, and Raynal, are to be procured almost every where; although the works of Herrera, Garcilasso, Oveido, and others, are extremely rare, yet, they have furnished materials for numerous compilers. In times comparatively modern, the writings of Ulloa, Humboldt, Depons, Molina, and Azara, contain a fund of informa-

tion with respect to the geography, statistics, and history of New Spain, Venezuela, Peru, Chili, and La Plata. Without naming any others, it would require at least six months to become master of all the information laboriously collected by these authors.

It is not then altogether the deficiency in the stock of information possessed by the public, which furnishes a just cause of complaint; the fault must, in some measure, be attributed to those who complain, for not availing themselves of what is within their reach. The study of South American affairs, has not yet become fashionable; persons who possess the most minute acquaintance with the different countries of Europe, have scarcely given themselves the trouble to become familiar with the mere geographical outlines of our great southern continent. To what cause are we to attribute this want of curiosity, with respect to the most important portion of the globe? The works on South America, it is true, are many of them voluminous, but there is no want of abridgements and compilations. Thompson's Alcedo, Walton on the Colonies, Wilcox's Buenos Ayres, and Bonnycastle's South America, can, without difficulty, be procured

by those who are desirous of obtaining a general acquaintance with the subject. I was more surprised at the *number* of excellent works on South America, than at the deficiency, although the field, far from being exhausted, each day acquires new interest.

There are some, whose complaints of want of information are much more limited; they mean that there is no satisfactory account of the actual state of the different countries of South America, or of the nature and consequences of the dreadful wars, which, for the last ten years, have crimsoned its soil. Of the justice of this complaint, there can be no doubt. The simple perusal of the small volume entitled, an "Outline of the Revolutions in South America," will satisfy any one how much curious and interesting information may be given. The reports of the commissioners sent out by the United States, at the same time that they add greatly to what has already been obtained, show how much is yet to be known; and even these, although very generally perused, have been studied by few. Why then, it will be asked, do I swell the pile of unappropriated, neglected information, by the addition of two octavo volumes?

It is certainly not with the vain hope, of being able to give a full and satisfactory account of all things worth knowing, in relation to one half of the habitable world. Who is there that will be found so adventurous, as to attempt the explanation of all things relating to the geography, soils, sciences, and institutions of Europe, in the compass of two small volumes? Or, what should we think of one who should attempt, in the same limits, to give a full and satisfactory account of these states? Such a work, however excellent, would necessarily imply much previous information in the reader, or at least much subsequent study. I hope, therefore, the reader will not condemn me for having disappointed him in what he had no right to expect. I do not propose to give an epitome of every thing worthy to be known in the new world; an account of its topography, rivers, provinces, towns, savages, civil and political history, or the various incidents of the present revolution, on twenty different sanguinary theatres of war. I have undertaken to give a narrative of a voyage of nearly twenty thousand miles, with all that I saw and heard, or could collect from authentic sources, at the places where I touched. I

considered it necessary to read much, and with care, in order to direct my attention to proper objects of observation, and to avoid mistaking crudities for new discoveries. Few can tell, how many volumes the traveller, who is anxious to discharge his task with fidelity, must pore over, before he can venture to write down a few lines.

What is wanted at present, is not so much a work embracing the necessary information on the subject of South America generally, as one that should create a desire to be informed. I feel but too well my incapacity for the discharge of such a task. I neither possess that grace and fascination of style, which give interest to every subject, nor the literary reputation that can add importance to whatever I may write. My ambition extends no further than to make a fair and honest statement of the facts that have come within my knowledge, together with the inferences I have drawn from them. I affect no humility, for the purpose of disarming criticism; I ask neither more nor less than the measure of justice, to which others are entitled. To the American public, to whom *I make my report*, I address myself with confidence,

fully convinced that its sentence will be just, even if against me.

During a residence of four or five years in Louisiana, part of the time as one of the judges of the state, I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Spanish character, laws, and government. I applied myself a good deal to Spanish literature, having previously acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language as well as of the French; and living on the borders of New Spain, I had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with several intelligent natives of that country, who contributed much to remove the prejudices, which, in common with many of my countrymen, I had formed against every thing Spanish, whether European or American. My feelings were thus at an early period enlisted on the cause of South American emancipation; but I felt no other interest than this: I was never either directly or indirectly connected with the fortunes of any of the chieftains, or other persons, actually engaged in the patriot cause. I wished well to those who directed the affairs of the patriots, and judged of them chiefly by their success, for I knew that any other mode, at

this distance from the scene of action, could not be much relied on. If, by any fatality, I should have been enlisted in the private views and interests, of any of these chiefs, I would honestly avow myself a *partisan*, and leave to others to judge, *whether my testimony could be impartial.* I have uniformly condemned the whole scheme of privateering in the name of the patriot governments, *especially of those that have neither ships, seamen, nor even ports of their own.* I consider it as an abominable abuse, calculated to bring the patriot cause into disrepute with good men, tending to demoralize our mariners, and to gratify a thirst for plunder, in many who care for little else.

The sphere of my *personal* observations, I own was extremely limited; the reader must judge whether my opportunities were neglected. It is not by remaining a few months in a strange city, or running full speed over uninhabited plains, that much profound knowledge is to be obtained; such a traveller can only speak with confidence of the mere surface of things; he can see but little, and must take his accounts from the few whom accident, or their own officiousness, throws in his way. It is true the tra-

veller may interrogate those who are well acquainted with the different parts of the country, but he must do this skilfully, and receive with caution every thing he hears. "Do, sir, write me down what you have just stated," is the usual request of inexperienced travellers; on their return, should they publish, their works are chiefly made up of these indigested scraps. I carefully sought out persons who had been in different parts of South America, and endeavoured to extract from them all the information I could; at the same time I carefully cultivated the acquaintance of individuals in all classes of society, the military, the clergy, the bar, and the officers of government; my situation as secretary affording many facilities without the trammels of ceremony and formality, that would have been imposed on me by appearing in a different capacity.

Some men profess to be in search of truth, while they believe they have already found it; others set out with theoretic frames, to which every thing must conform, *par aut impar*, and are as sensitive in their favourite notions as *the horns of a snail;* but I know that we must be often wrong before we can be right.

It is justly observed by a celebrated philosopher, *that the simplest ideas are those which suggest themselves last;* first thoughts in matters of right and wrong are probably the best, but not so in human science and knowledge.

Almost from the first moment of my arrival at Buenos Ayres, I diligently sought after every printed paper, no matter of how little apparent value, knowing that in countries struggling for political life, every thing from the press should be examined, in order to discover whether it bears the harsh stamp of despotism, or breathes the fragrant breath of liberty. I had the good fortune to make an extensive collection of pamphlets, files of newspapers, and political tracts; with the help of these, and the histories of Greece, of Italy, of Switzerland, of Holland, and even of the United States, I have ventured, though not without hesitation, to risk some observations on their political transactions.

I have been politely favoured with the perusal of the papers of commodore Sinclair, and have taken the liberty of occasionally interweaving some of his observations, in the narrative of the voyage.

I have employed myself at different times in translating interesting documents, and state papers, of the South American governments, and intended to have inserted them in the Appendix, but it will not be possible to find room for more than two or three. I could have desired the insertion of the provisional constitution, translated with great accuracy by Mr. Read, a gentleman of fine taste and acquirements. I have inserted a translation of the manifesto of independence of La Plata; the substance of that of Chili, may be seen in the documents appended to the report of Mr. Bland; but from its preserving the Spanish idiom, I should judge the translation to have been executed by a Spaniard; it is, therefore, not surprising that it should seem to be rather a tame production. The English reader, for instance, would mistake the following sentence for a syllogism: "We want—we can—then we ought to be free." But in the original it is nothing more than a bold apostrophe. "We resolve—we are able to be free—then we shall be free." It is a common sentiment that nothing more is necessary for a people to be free, than to will it—but if, in addition,

they exceed their oppressors in physical strength, they may be said "to hold a bond of fate."

"By oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be free!"—BURNS.

I cannot flatter myself with the hope that these volumes are free from errors in point of fact and inference — there must necessarily be many, and I hope they will be corrected by those who possess better information. My ambition will be gratified, if my work shall be found to aid in producing a spirit of inquiry. The fact that we pay too little attention to South America, ought to be repeated again and again, until we shall be roused from our state of apathy. On the part of the United States, as well as of Great Britain, it would be inexcusable to be inattentive to what is going forward, in that quarter of the world. They are capable of defending themselves, of governing themselves, and of being free, in spite of all that may be said by narrow minded self-sufficient men. They expect friendship and good will from us, and have a right to expect it. If we cannot speak favourably of them,

at least we ought not studiously to display, what we conceive to be their foibles and faults. What people more sensitive than we, to the slanders of such men as Weld or Ashe, and yet we sometimes venture sneers and ill-natured taunts against people who believe they are following our glorious example! These are regarded by them as "the unkindest cuts of all." They are keenly and deeply felt by the patriots of the South, and I fear they have produced disgust that will not easily be removed; but I will venture to say to them, in the name of my country, and the government of my country, THAT SUCH SENTIMENTS ARE DISCLAIMED BY BOTH.

To the many inaccuracies, and inelegancies of composition, I plead guilty, and submit to the sentence of the public, alleging in mitigation, that authorship in this country is not a profession, that it has been engaged in by me at the expense of the occupation by which I must earn my bread. I have had no time to polish and correct; having been obliged, in general, to keep pace with the printer.

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INTRODUCTION.

Importance of Spanish America—Remarks on the Population—State of Learning and Information—Spanish Colonial Government and Policy—System of Finance—Commercial Policy—Obstacles to the Revolution.

PERHAPS no sovereigns ever possessed an empire of such vast extent and importance, as that of the kings of Spain in America. The South American continent alone, when considered with relation to its capacities and future destinies, is probably *equal to all the rest of the habitable globe.* Its geographical surface is less, indeed, than that of Africa, but when we consider how small a part of that continent is capable of sustaining human life, how bad its climate, and how deficient in rivers, the veins and arteries of the earth, it sinks in the scale far below the new world. Of Europe, much is given up to excessive cold; and of Asia, immense portions are barren and uninhabitable. Internal seas, lakes, and marshes, occupy a much greater proportion than in New Spain, or South America. The steppes, or grassy plains of Asia, are of much greater extent than those of the American continent. The plains of New Spain are better supplied with water, and consequently more fertile; the pampas of La Plata, it is true, wear a more unpromising appearance; but I am inclined to think,

that when they shall become more perfectly known, they will be found deserving of a better character. They have advantages of climate and soil, which place them far above the immense steppes in the north of Asia. But that part of South America, by some called Amazonia, (from the wonderful river by which it is watered, with its numerous branches, indicating the fecundity of the soil they traverse), has nothing equalling it in any other quarter of the world. The imagination is lost in contemplating the future destiny of this immense region, still inhabited by hundreds of unknown tribes, and where the labour and enterprize of civilized man, will have full scope for thousands of years.

I. The countries watered by the Amazon, the Parana, the great rivers of Brazil, the Rio Negro of Patagonia, and by the Oronoko, may be regarded as still in a state of nature. In North America, the interior of Guatimala is yet scarcely known. Honduras, and Yukatan, may be considered as uninhabited forests. The seats of civilization in South America, are but specks on its vast surface; and even these, (with the exception of a few districts), scarcely contain a hundredth part of the population they are able to support. The whole South American population has been estimated at nineteen millions; it probably does not exceed that of the island of Great Britain; while the mildness of the American climate, and the fertility of its soil, are such, as to enable ten times the number of people to subsist, on a given space of the same extent. An estimate of the capacity of South America for the subsistence of population, would fill any one with amazement who has not reflected on the subject. It would not be hazardous to assert, that if all the inhabitants of Europe and Asia could be transported to the new world, its fruitful bosom

could furnish subsistence for them all. The whole of the Spanish possessions may be said to enjoy a temperate climate; lying between thirty-eight degrees north, and fifty-four degrees south, they never experience extreme cold; and between the tropics, even under the equator, the heats are not greater than in some of the temperate climates of Europe.*

The position of South America as relates to the United States, to Europe, Africa, and Asia, holds out the most singular advantages for commerce. When the commerce of the east comes to receive that direction which seems to be pointed out by nature, through the Carribean sea and the gulf of Mexico, America will then be the acknowledged centre of the earth. There are scarcely any of the vegetable, or animal productions of the other parts of the world, which may not be easily naturalized here, not to speak of a variety found no where else. Of the precious metals, America may be considered the treasury of all civilized nations;† and, therefore, as possessing the power to regulate their activity and enterprize. In spices, gums, and in articles useful in the *materia medica*, she equals, if not sur-

* The climate of Rio Janeiro has been compared by an English writer to that of Naples. During the time we were in South America, we experienced at no time so great a degree of heat, as that which we felt in the month of July, near Norfolk, on our return.

† The quantity of gold and silver annually sent by the new continent into Europe, amounts to more than nine-tenths of the produce of the whole mines in the known world. The Spanish colonies, for example, furnish annually three millions and a half marks of silver, (2,370,046 troy weight), while in the whole of the European states, including Asiatic Russia, the total annual produce of the mines scarcely exceeds three hundred thousand marks, (230,130 pounds troy.)

passes, the East Indies. Possibly, the time may come, when the attraction which has so long drawn the nations of Europe to China and Hindostan, will be much diminished. In time, almost every thing that the earth can produce, will be found in America.

All the commercial nations of Europe, have manifested at different periods, a desire to obtain a foothold in South America. The attempts of the Dutch to wrest the Brazils from the Portuguese, gave rise to one of the most bloody wars ever known on this side of the Atlantic. The English never for a moment relinquished their designs on the new world. Although in a great measure, masters of its commerce, they were also ambitious of being masters of its soil. Scarcely any part of South America, has escaped the daring enterprize of this nation. Their capture of Carthagena, and of Cuba, the possession of which they afterwards resigned, and their subsequent attempts on La Plata, are well known. England in every mode has occasioned the greatest annoyance to Spain of any other nation; she was almost the only one from whom she had any thing to fear; and but for the extraordinary occurrence which converted these natural enemies into allies, there is no telling how far England would have taken advantage of the decrepitude of the Spanish monarchy. It is probable, however, that instead of open attempts at conquest, she would have resorted to the arts of seduction to withdraw the Americans from allegiance to Spain, *holding out to them a feigned guardianship and protection.** However this may be, the only possessions of Great Britain at pre-

* I allude to the proclamation of Picton, and the other plans on foot in 1797.

sent on the southern continent, are those of Esequibo and Demerara, inconsiderable colonies near the equator, taken from the Dutch. The French and Dutch colonies of Guyana, are comparatively of little importance. South America may therefore be considered as divided between Spain and Portugal; the former including the provinces which have gained, or are struggling for independence.

Spanish America is distributed into four viceroyalties; New Spain, New Grenada, Peru, and Rio de la Plata; and into the captain-generalships of Yukatan, Guatimala, Venezuela, Chili and Cuba. The islands belonging to, or claimed by Spain, are Cuba, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and St. Andrews. In the Pacific, she possesses the Archipelago of Chiloe, and the island of Juan Fernandez, with some others on the coast of Chili. With the exception of Peru, (sometimes called Lima from its capital), *all Spanish America has been the theatre of revolutionary struggles, or is now actually in possession of the patriots.* The viceroyalty of Grenada, a territory more extensive than our old thirteen states, was for several years the scene of a bloody contest for independence. The incidents of this contest in the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, Choco, Popayan, and Quito, are familiar to most readers.* The blaze has subsided, but the fire is not yet extinguished, nor will be, until there cease to be any combustible materials. The incidents of the war in Venezuela, are also tolerably well known; but, excepting in the island of Margarita, the contest still rages. On the plains of Calabozo and

* See "*The Outline of the Revolution in South America*," a work written with great impartiality and regard to truth.

Caraccas, the bloody and exterminating war, it is feared, will not soon be brought to a close. It is only in the viceroyalty of La Plata, that the progress of independence has been firm and sure. It is true, this mighty cause has been desperately contested in the rugged mountains of the provinces on the heads of the Paraguay and Amazon; the theatre on which La Plata has been struggling for liberty with various success for the last eight years. Chili in close alliance with this republic, may bid defiance to Spain: without this, if we may judge from the past, the question is doubtful. The only viceroyalty of South America, which has remained quiet from the beginning of the contest, is Peru; the most feeble, and with the exception of its mineral wealth, the least important of them all.* This was the point first seized upon by Pizarro, and his daring followers; it was, therefore, the seat of government for all the rest of South America, on their successive discovery and conquest. From the reluctance of Spain in the adoption of any new measures called for by the exigence of circumstances, the inconvenience of this arrangement was felt long before the remedy could be applied. Some of the provinces lay two thousand miles from Lima, the residence of the viceroy; and being separated by trackless deserts,

* It contains about a million of inhabitants, more than one half composed of the spiritless Indian peasantry; of the other half the greater part is made up of negroes and mulattoes. Scarcely a fifth are whites, and the number of monks and nuns is greater than in any other catholic country in the world, and may account for the slow progress of population and the dissoluteness of morals. The staple manufactory of Peru, is priests; and of them, a sufficient number is made to supply all South America.

the greatest inconvenience was experienced, from the want of communication with the capital. It was not until 1718, that New Grenada was erected into a viceroyalty, nor until 1731 that the provinces of Venezuela were placed under a separate government. Chili was erected into a captain-generalship about the same time. In the year 1778, La Plata was erected into a viceroyalty, together with the upper provinces of Peru, which have already been spoken of as the theatre of war; and which, in point of wealth, and *numerical* population, constitute by far the most important portion of the viceroyalty.*

In the physical configuration of America, there are many interesting peculiarities. The great traveller, Humboldt, has exhibited the principal of these, in the works already published by him; in those which he is still preparing for the press, the magnificent outline will be filled up. The most striking features of the new world, constituting the principal difference between it and the other quarters of the globe, *are its mountains and rivers.* The chain of the Andes, is undoubtedly the longest in the world, traversing both North and South America, and in some points, (unless we except the mountains of Thibet), the most elevated. Beyond the Isthmus these mountains separate, and traverse the continent in three distinct chains or ridges. The first is the Cordilleras, which runs along the Pacific, and is in fact a continuation of the rocky mountains of North America. The second is the chain which branches from the Cordillera in the province of Quito, passes through New Grenada towards

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* See the report of Mr. Rodney, for a clear and succinct notice of the establishment of the different colonial governments.

the Atlantic, and pursuing a course nearly parallel, is interrupted by the Oronoko, reappears in Guyana, and approaches the Amazon, when it is in like manner broken by the immense valley of this river. It afterwards shews itself in Brazil, traversing it in the whole extent, again subsiding in the highlands of Maldonado, near La Plata. The third chain, called the Eastern Cordillera of Peru, runs towards the tropic, whence it takes an inclined direction, and terminates in the south east, in the plains of the Grand Chaco. There are besides, a number of interior chains, particularly those which separate the valleys of the great rivers of Brazil. From the eastern ridges, there is a gradual slope to the interior, while on the coast their ascent is abrupt and steep. Their elevation is considerably less than the Cordillera or Andes, and they are more irregular and broken. The vast track of country which stretches along the heads of the Amazon and La Plata, upwards of three thousand miles in length, and probably more than three hundred in breadth, is one of the most rugged and mountainous on the globe; it is a continued succession of deep vallies, of various dimensions, enclosed by mountains whose summits, in general, are covered with perpetual snows. In the northern part, there are plains of such elevation as to afford all the advantages of the most temperate and delightful climates; to the south, the vallies are in general lower, and although extremely fertile, are more hot.

The land communication from one valley to another, is exceedingly difficult; which is not the case with the water communication, although circuitous. The difficulties of passing the mountains which separate these vallies, as related to us by travellers, seem almost to border upon the marvellous. If Johnson had been

acquainted with this country, it would have been unnecessary for him, in his beautiful story of Rasselas, to have had recourse to invention. In tracing the minute descriptions of Sobreviela, and the difficulties of passing from one valley into another, I often thought of the prison of the prince of Abyssinia. Although the mountains of Brazil are not so elevated as the Andes, they are much more so than the Alleghanies; and their ridges abound in mineral wealth.

The coast of the Atlantic differs, in several very important particulars, from that of the Pacific. Being in general bold and rocky, and having the estuaries of the great rivers, it affords a number of the finest harbors in the world. The coast of Brazil especially, a length of three thousand miles, is highly favored in this particular. La Plata forms an exception, and it is probable, that there are no very good harbours south of that river. The whole extent of this coast is highly fertile, and capable of sustaining the most crowded population. The coast of the Pacific, on the opposite side of the continent, is, with some interruptions, sterile and dreary; and as it never rains over a great proportion of it, there are considerable tracks as barren as the deserts of Arabia. These almost entirely interrupt the land communication between Lima and Chili, and even form considerable obstacles to the intercourse between the different districts of the vice-royalty. It is somewhat surprising, that the African camel has never been introduced for the purpose of travelling over these sandy plains, although in use in Mexico. The communication between different places on the Pacific, is therefore carried on by water; but there is great difference between the voyage north, and that to the south; the latter having to encounter adverse wind and current. Although the coast of the Pacific is not so well furnished with commodious

harbors, as that of Brazil and Terra Firma, there are a number which possess considerable advantages. It is remarkable, that the same difficulties exist in the internal communication between different places on the opposite sides of the continent, but for different reasons; on the Atlantic, the extraordinary mass of vegetation, which covers the ground, opposes the most serious obstacle to the opening of roads; obstacles that in this country we can scarcely conceive; the thickest cane brakes in the southern parts of the United States are trifling impediments compared to them; besides the facilities of navigation on that delightful coast, where dangers by sea are almost unknown, take away all inducements to any extraordinary labor in making highways. Between the two great cities of St. Salvador, and Rio Janeiro, there is no land communication, and much of the intermediate space is occupied by ferocious and unsubdued Indians. To make amends for the difficulties of internal intercourse by land, there is no part of the world which possesses such a number of fine navigable rivers as South America. An elegant writer has observed, "that of all the portions of the globe, America is that which is best watered,"* there are at least fifty rivers, as large as the Rhine or Danube, whose names are scarcely known, even to those who may be considered as well informed respecting South America. These, at some future day, will afford the means of carrying on an internal trade, compared to which that of China, so much boasted, will appear insignificant. Those mighty rivers the Magdalena, Oronoko, the Amazon, the Plata, and their hundred arms, stretching in every direction over the continent, will afford facilities of intercourse between the remotest regions.

* Burke's History of European Settlements.

The points at which the two oceans may be connected, have given rise to frequent speculation; I shall probably, in the course of this work, make some observations on the subject; at present, I will only remark, that from every thing I have been able to learn, the most eligible is that from Guasacualco Tehuantepec.* Should this Isthmus become the connecting point, it will be a subject of great interest to the United States. New Orleans or Havanna, will then probably be the great mart of the East India trade. From the Balize a steamboat would run down in a few days to Guasacualco; and at farthest, two days would suffice for the transportation of merchandize to the Pacific. By this means, a direct intercourse would be established between Europe and the United States, with the countries on the Western ocean. The introduction of steamboats on this coast, as well as on that of Brazil, and in the Carribean sea, will no doubt follow in the course of improvement, and will effect the most singular changes in human affairs. Great difficulties oppose the passage across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama; a proof of which is, that Spain instead of sending troops to Lima in this direction, prefers the circuitous voyage round Cape Horn. It is true, however, that a very considerable trade has always been kept up between Porto Bello and Panama, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the passage. But the important trade of Spain with

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* Humboldt seems to be of this opinion. (See his Essay on New Spain.) The deadly nature of the climate of the Isthmus of Darien is a serious consideration: from the proximity of the two oceans, the clouds gathered by the trade winds are continually settling on its lofty summits: the rainy season is said to continue during two thirds of the year, which under a vertical sun must render it peculiarly unhealthy.

the East Indies, has been carried on from Acapulco, the only good port of New Spain; while the products of Lima, and Guiaquill, have been transported across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec: In the hands of an enterprizing nation, this wonderful country would be found to possess facilities of communication approximating remote parts, which at present can scarcely be imagined; at the same time, that there exists the most extraordinary advantages for defence, when it should require the interruption of that intercourse. At present, the inhabitants north of the Oronoko, on account of the uninhabitable wilderness of Amazonia, have no direct communication with the provinces on the Plata; they are almost as completely separated as if they were on opposite sides of the ocean. The eastern ridges of the Andes oppose a barrier scarcely less formidable.

II. Humboldt has remarked, that in no part of the world, is the population so unequally distributed as in Spanish America. This principally arises, from the circumstance of the Spaniards occupying the same seats, with the half-civilized Aborigines whom they subdued. In Mexico, in the kingdom of the Incas in Peru, and of the Zac of St. Fee de Bogota, the population was very considerable, and in a state of civilization, not much below that of the East Indies. In these countries the Indians still constitute the great mass of population; the lower class are an indolent, harmless peasantry, and in the comforts of civilized life, probably not below the boors of Russia, or even the peasantry of Poland or Hungary. By a long and systematic course of oppression, they have become spiritless and submissive, although on a few occasions, when roused by chiefs of their own origin, whom they venerate, they have manifested acts of great despera-

tion; as in the instance of the insurrection of Tapac Amaru, which broke out in the year 1783, in the upper provinces of La Plata.

The number of female Spanish emigrants to South America, compared to the males, especially in Mexico and Peru, having always been very small, there were many intermarriages between the Europeans and the natives. There was less repugnance to this, than in any part of our country, those natives being in some measure a civilized people. The Spanish conquerors willingly contracted alliances with the principal families, by which they acquired extensive possessions. Many of the descendants of the native chiefs, are educated in the same manner with persons of the first classes, and enjoy wealth and consideration. There have even appeared among the Indians, men distinguished for their literary attainments; Garcillaso and Torquemada, two of the best historians of the new world, were of the Aboriginal race; one a descendant of the Incas, the other a citizen of the republic Tlascala, who availed himself of the Roman alphabet, forty years after the conquest, to write a history of the important events which had taken place. The preceptor of the celebrated astronomer Velasques, was a Mexican Indian. In the universities of Lima and Mexico, there are professorships of the native languages, into which several works have been translated. Tupac Amaru was a well educated and accomplished gentleman; he was driven to desperation, in consequence of his unavailing efforts to obtain some alleviation in the treatment of the common people, the descendants of those who had been the subjects of his ancestors. The lower class of the Spaniards, think themselves superior to the Indian peasantry; but there is little or no distinction between the higher classes of mixed blood, and the American

Spaniards. In fact, in all parts of South America, with the exception of Caraccas, Chili and the Provincias Internas, the American Spaniard contains more or less mixture with the native races. In the declamatory writings and speeches of the patriots, when they cry out against their having been oppressed for three hundred years, one would suppose they had no Spanish blood in their veins, but were the very people who had been subdued by Cortes and Pizarro. They continually identify themselves with the Aborigines, and in this manner have generally succeeded in bringing them over to their side. The distinction therefore, is not so much in blood, as in condition; there is no deep rooted enmity to prevent them from uniting in a common cause. In the insurrection of 1783, the Indians at first, made a distinction between the American and European Spaniards, until the former declared against them; and in the present contest, wherever the Indians have taken a side at all, it has generally been in favour of the Americans. The unsubdued Indians on the borders of the settlements have shewn no particular inclination to either side, except in very few instances; but they can contribute but little in either scale.

The American Spaniards are next in point of numbers, but they are much more important, in consequence of their possessing greater privileges, better education and more general wealth. Although they are the great landholders of the country, their influence is less than it might be, on account of their careful exclusion from participation in the government; it being the policy of Spain, to keep them in a state of idleness and vice, as the surest means of retaining her sway in these distant countries; they have, therefore, been deprived of nearly all those incentives which tend to elevate the character of a people. The same policy, but a very erroneous one in this in

stance, has induced her to foster enmities between the European Spaniards and the Americans;* the dreadful consequences of which, have been manifested in the incidents of the present revolutions. There is some diversity in the character of the Americans, in different parts of Spanish America; produced principally, by the circumstances of the countries which they inhabit. It is, perhaps, in Chili alone, that the Spanish race in America, may be considered pure and unmixed; which may be attributed to the constant hostilities in this quarter with the Araucanians, the only Indian nation in their neighbourhood, with which they could have mingled. La Plata may be placed next in rank; but here, there is some mixture of Indian race, increasing from the middle to the lower classes of society. Perhaps, the most remarkable and peculiar class of population in Spanish America, are the herdsmen, or shepherds, who are met with chiefly in New Spain, in Venezuela, and on the La Plata. There is probably a considerable resemblance between the shepherds of these different districts, separated by such vast distances, but where the habits of life are much alike. These men, who have made a retrograde step from civilization, are every where represented as possessing powerful and athletic frames, and bold independent minds, but extremely rude and uninformed. If there be any difference in the herdsmen inhabiting the countries just mentioned, I am inclined to think that those of La Plata are more savage and ferocious; which may arise from their leading a more solitary life, and having fewer of the comforts of civilization.† No political change can produce much al-

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* For this, I have the respectable authority of Humboldt, 2 vol.

† See the accounts of Mawe and Azara.

teration in the situation and habits of this class of men; and yet, none has manifested more active devotion to the cause of independence. The difficulty has been under all governments to bring them under any kind of subordination. War is their natural element—if Spain should ever succeed in subduing her colonies, these men will be the last to yield. It is not, therefore, so much from reflection, on the advantages to America, that they have shown this devotedness to the cause of independence; for one of its effects will necessarily be, to convert as much as possible of those countries now occupied by solitary shepherds, into the seats of agriculture. The first step towards improving their condition will be, to bring them back to the sober and settled life, from which they have strayed. I can scarcely imagine any other mode of improvement; for they must remain in their present state of barbarism, as long as they continue the same habits and pursuits, without being much susceptible of being rendered better or worse.

The character of the other classes of Spanish Americans, is represented by most travellers, in a very favourable point of view; their vices, and defects, are almost entirely attributed to the influence of a bad government, and bad education. The inequality in the different ranks of society, is more nominal than real. The lower class of Spanish America, attached to the soil by the pursuits of agriculture, are uniformly represented as a most kind, hospitable people, and susceptible of every improvement in their condition; the descendants of Europeans in this class, I will venture to say, are estimable throughout all America. Humboldt has remarked that in no country of the world, is property so unequally distributed as in New Spain; and yet there cannot be said to be any gorgeous display of wealth. The owners of mines who possess the greatest fortunes, are continually

expending immense sums in the pursuit of new discoveries; and even where this is not the case, there seems to be something in the very air of America, which forbids that extravagant display and pomp, so natural in the other hemisphere. After the owners of mines, are ranked those who possess immense landed estates, with Indian vassals or dependants, whose condition formerly was similar to that of the Russian boors or English villeins; but which has been gradually improving since the time of the first conquerors. In Mexico, there never was any other kind of slavery, and to the endeavours of the Spanish monarchy to alleviate the condition of this unfortunate race, are to be attributed those mild and salutary laws, in favour of the slave, which have justly placed the Spanish character in this respect above other European nations. Through the animated representation of Las Casas, the oppression practised on the Indians was attempted to be remedied by various decrees, which had well nigh produced a revolt on the part of the conquerors, who were supported by powerful influence at court. On account of this resistance of the great landholders, the decrees were repealed, and the minister Gasca, who was sent to conciliate, received for instruction, *that provided the country remained to the king, the devil might have the government.* Although the emperor could not abolish the repartimientos and encomiendas, many of the largest of these estates were gradually incorporated with the crown, but few, if any, having been granted in perpetuity.

Throughout all America, with the single exception of La Plata, there was an established nobility. In Mexico, Peru, Carpeccas and Chili, there was an abundance of counts and marquisses; but the Spanish traveller Azara, expresses great doubts, whether they derive much consideration from these titles; and seems

to think they owe their distinction, whatever it may be, not to this circumstance, but to their wealth and extensive family connexion. A variety of reasons may be given, why an American nobility does not occupy the same space in society, as the nobility of Europe; the principal, probably is, the want of that veneration for remote ancestry, arising from peculiar circumstances in Europe, but which cannot be transferred to the new continent: another not less powerful is, that they do not surround a throne. The revolution, however, has been much affected by feuds between great and rival families, in nearly all those viceroyalties where nobility existed; it was the case at St. Fee, in Chili, and Caraccas; the rock on which the revolutions of these several countries have uniformly split, has been the dissensions of two or more powerful families, who by their ambition of ruling, afforded an opportunity to the common enemy of subduing them. Much greater injury to the cause has proceeded from this rivalry, than from the circumstance of the different casts or classes of population. The latter is generally considered the great drawback. In the progress of the contest, experience however has shown, in more instances than one, that it is rather apparent than real; all of them have repeatedly united against the Spaniards; and should they ultimately succeed, it would be found less difficult permanently to reconcile their different interests, than is generally imagined. The prejudice with respect to the Indians and those of mixed blood, will be easily removed; with respect to the Africans, and the mixtures of that race, the inconvenience will only be seriously felt in the provinces of Caraccas and Lima.

The proportion of negroes in Spanish America, was by no means great, excepting in Caraccas and the islands. In Peru, there was a much greater number

than in Mexico; but from the privileges they enjoyed, it is evident that their condition was not severe. In Mexico there was no necessity for the introduction of slaves, in consequence of the great number of Indian labourers, and the cheapness of labour; these people who were in a low state even under their own kings, were studiously kept in the lowest degradation by their new masters, while the kings of Spain were desirous of elevating them to the rank of subjects; for it seems that they were sunk too low in the scale of beings, even in the eyes of the European sovereign. A singular contest was for a time exhibited between the sovereign and the Spaniards of America; the first endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of the Indians, and the latter, through selfish interest, persisting to retain them in a state of absolute bondage. If Spain has oppressed the American Spaniards, their ancestors may be much more justly accused of cruel treatment to the Aborigines. The laws of the Indies are in many respects highly favourable to the slave; in case of ill treatment, justice is seldom denied; and on procuring a fixed sum, he can always compel his master to set him free. In fact, the rights of the master over his slave, have never been so extensive under the Spanish government, as in the colonies of other nations.

The European Spaniards, though comparatively few in numbers, were a thousand times more important than the English in the United States, previous to our revolutionary war. They held all the principal colonial offices, ecclesiastical, military and civil. Nearly all the active capital of the country was in their hands, as they carried on its trade and commerce. From the narrow and restricted manner in which all commercial business was transacted, more perhaps, than from any contemptuous ideas of commerce in general, the Ame-

rican Spaniards were unwilling to engage in this pursuit. It has been said, that this arose from a ridiculous pride; but we have seen this contradicted by the fact, that as soon as commerce came to be carried on more liberally, many creoles of the first respectability, sent their sons to England and the United States in order to learn its principles. It was the policy of the Spanish government, to distribute in the different governments of America, a class of people *distinct in feelings, interest and character* from the native inhabitants, and besides attached to old Spain. Yet even the European Spaniard could not emigrate to America without a special license; and no foreigner could obtain this permission without paying a very considerable sum, besides being of the Catholic faith; the latter, an indispensible requisite. The greater part of these, although licensed to stay only two years, contrive to remain in the country much longer without becoming settled or marrying, having in view the quitting it, as soon as their fortunes shall be made. The proportion therefore, finally settled in the country, and identified in its interests by intermarriage, was by no means great. Spain had thus nearly *three hundred thousand men** distributed throughout her possessions in America, devoted to her cause, having experience, activity and intelligence, and possessing the reins of power. Great Britain had no auxiliary like this to support her, in her conflict with the United States; on the contrary, she found the same class of people her active foes. It is highly probable, that the struggle of the United States would have worn a very different character, if Great Britain had had forty or fifty thousand individuals, devoted to her interests in the different parts of

* This is the number estimated by Humboldt.

our country, and holding all public employments, as well as possessing its active capital.

To the circumstance of the existence of so many individuals of the description before mentioned, distributed through the different cities of South America, and especially in the vicinity of the mines, is to be ascribed much of the difficulties of the Spanish Americans. To the same cause may be attributed the depravity of morals, with which the creoles have been accused, but which I have no doubt has been much exaggerated.

III. With respect to the state of learning and the general diffusion of information, considering how important these are to countries contending for independence, and how essential in order to form a correct idea of their present prospects and future hopes, it will be necessary to be somewhat more minute. Literature and the arts have been seldom known to flourish under colonial goverments, especially when far removed from their metropolis. They are intimately connected with national independence. Over and above this disadvantage, there existed in Spanish America, many circumstances peculiarly unfavorable. There was little or no object for any one to devote himself to letters, for they led neither to distinction nor wealth. Besides, it was far from the policy of Spain to encourage learning in her colonies, which would only tend to increase the difficulty of governing them, and render the colonists more dissatisfied with their lot. It is certainly true, that as long as they continued in the colonial state, learning would be but of little service to them. When the city of Merida petitioned for leave to establish a university, in the reign of Charles IV. it received for reply *that the king did not think proper that information should be-*

come general in America. "It did not suit the policy of Spain," says the Buenos Ayrean manifesto of independence, "that sages should rise up among us, fearful that men of genius might think of advancing the condition of their country, and of improving the morals and excellent capacities of their countrymen." On a similar occasion the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, having petitioned for leave to establish a mathematical school, was told that *learning did not become colonies.* The Spanish government seemed to be aware that no sensible, well-informed man, could contemplate her colonial system without indignation—a system, which seemed to be at war with the improvement and prosperity of the most fertile, and extensive regions of the world. Some ministers did not hesitate to declare, that reading and writing was as much as the Americans ought to be permitted to learn. Guerra enumerates a variety of instances where permission was sought in vain, to establish schools for the purpose of more liberal instruction. That it should be necessary at all, to sue for permission of this nature, is a sufficient proof of the shameful policy pursued by Spain, in order to preserve her sway by darkening the human mind. In Santa Fee de Bogota, chymistry was not permitted to be taught; for what reason it is extremely difficult to comprehend, unless it be the jealously of French literature, which had become very much in request, towards the close of the last century, throughout all Spanish America. The polished and immaculate Godoy, thought it wise to issue a decree forbidding *the study of the law of nature and nations,* (derechos de gente) a prohibition, which may perhaps be attributed to ignorance of the meaning of the terms. Something of this excessive caution, is doubtless to be ascribed to apprehensions of that flood of light poured upon the world by the American revolution; for it is

since that period especially, that Spain has manifested such a disposition to tyrannize over the human mind in America.

No part of the vast sums drawn from the Indies were appropriated to the diffusion of *general information*. The institutions fostered by the government were for purposes special and circumscribed. It was found that American curates, lawyers and physicians were necessary; colleges must therefore be established to enable these to make their preparatory studies; there was no disposition to encourage the Americans to visit Spain, and it was not safe to allow them to go abroad. It is not to be expected that the young Americans who had no intention of dedicating themselves to any of these professions, could undertake the arduous and painful task of mastering studies, which they could apply to no other practical use. The university of Mexico was fostered by the Spanish government, principally on account of its school of mineralogy; all the exact sciences were cultivated here, on the same principles as in Europe; next to that of Mexico, the university of Lima had the most extensive privileges of any in South America, and cultivated with some success the more elegant and refined branches of literature. These two universities influence the taste throughout all Spanish America, and without much dissimilarity of climate or population they produce very opposite effects. It is observed by Guerra, that his countrymen, the Mexicans, are remarkable for close reasoning in their compositions, and destitution of ornament in their style; while the South Americans are as remarkable for their rhetorical and declamatory writings, which are at the same time full of fire. We have seen this exemplified in the Manifesto of the Mexican Congress, when contrasted with the Declaration of Independence of Buenos Ayres. Other

universities, or colleges, with very inferior privileges, were at subsequent periods established at Santa Fee de Bogota, at Quito, Cusco, Chuquisaca, Cordova, Paraguay, and other parts of South America. To the efforts of the Jesuits in the propagation of the lights of science, the South Americans can never be too thankful. The well known devotedness to learning of this extraordinary society, was highly beneficial to those countries; there is scarcely an university or college, to which these enlightened men have not been benefactors. All writers on South America bear testimony to the truth of this remark; the seeds of learning planted by them remained in the soil after their expulsion, and to them the credit is in a great measure due for the stock of information in America. Whatever may have been the necessity or wisdom of suppressing their order in Europe, too much praise cannot be given to their conduct in America. They were the explorers of the trackless wilderness, the harbingers of peace and civilization to the Indians, the protectors and friends of the persecuted and injured, and the patrons of science. They were viewed with dislike by the powerful Spaniards in America, because they were a constant check upon their cruelty and avarice. And finally, became the victims of the jealousy of the Spanish and Portuguese kings. In making these observations I have been actuated by a regard for truth and justice, and not by any partiality to the Jesuists, as such, neither am I disposed to say that they were not actuated by the same ambition in America as elsewhere. I speak of facts that are well attested, not of supposed intentions which are only matters of conjecture. The colleges before enumerated were established at a period, when there was less dread that the Americans might conceive the design of throwing off their allegiance; and it is questionable, whether at a

later period, the establishment of these institutions would have been permitted at all. Little or no improvement was permitted in the method of study, so as to keep pace with the march of science. It is notwithstanding admitted, that the American seminaries were conducted on a more liberal plan than those of Spain, the credit of which is due to the Jesuits. In spite of these shackles, a number of men distinguished for their learning appeared in South America; some of the best historians, mathematicians, and naturalists, have sprung up under all these difficulties. The enlightened European travellers who have visited America at different times, in the pursuit of scientific objects, have all expressed their surprise on finding Americans as learned as themselves, and who saved them much trouble by tendering them at once the fruits of their researches. The taste for literature and science was confined to the Spanish Americans; the European Spaniards being only men of business, and in the pursuit of wealth. It is highly probable, that the unwillingness on the part of Spain to encourage literature, may have had an opposite effect from that intended, by producing a desire for what was virtually forbidden. Experience proves to us, how vain is the attempt to change the direction of the mind seriously bent on the acquisition of knowledge. The burning thirst will be gratified by some means or other. This is clearly proved by the state of learning and information among the higher classes in South America. Depons and Humboldt both inform us, that the South Americans of education, long before the revolution, entertained the greatest contempt for the state of learning in Spain; that their minds were completely emancipated from Spanish thraldom.* They knew perfectly well

* See Depons' Caraccas, Humboldt, &c.

that Spain was over-run with priests, beggars, and corrupt nobles, and that the press was enslaved by the Inquisition. They knew that a very different state of things existed in the United States, England, and France, where within the last century, the human mind had been continually making the most surprising progress. The books which occasionally found their way through the numerous watches posted at every avenue to prevent their entrance, were regarded as treasures. There have been instances of young creoles transcribing the whole of a prohibited book! From Spain they expected nothing to enlighten them; and this may account for the well-known fact, that in the Spanish Cortes, the American members exhibited an astonishing superiority in learning, as well as liberality over those from the different provinces of Spain. But this intelligence and spirit of inquiry in the higher classes of Americans, formed a singular contrast with the ignorance and apathy prevailing in the great body of the population. The first were compelled to keep their knowledge to themselves; they had neither the opportunity nor the means of diffusing it, while the common people, from their utter insignificance in a political point of view, had nothing to stimulate their curiosity; although I have no doubt they were equally intelligent, and less slavish than the same class of people in Spain. In South America there were many learned jurists, theologians, and physicians, and well educated gentlemen, but the people taken in the aggregate, in point of information, were very far inferior to the British colonists in North America.

The inquisition, within the last thirty or forty years, exercised its functions with augmented severity, to prevent the introduction of prohibited books into the American colonies. Every ship which sailed from Spain,

was obliged to give the strictest account of the books on board, under the severest penalties; and on her arrival, she had to undergo a search by the inquisitorial commissioners. These commissioners of the holy office, were established in every town and village; and it was their duty to make frequent domiciliary visits, to see that no prohibited books had eluded the "armed watch" of the inquisition. The list of prohibited books, includes all the most esteemed classic works of modern times; among them, are those of Addison, Marmontel, Montesquieu, Burlamaqui, Racine, Fenelon, Robertson, and many others of the same class. It will excite a smile when I add, that even poor Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday are proscribed! No use can be made of any book, without being first examined by the commissioners of the holy office. The severest restrictions are placed on booksellers—they can offer no book for sale without previous permission, and heavy penalties are inflicted on such as are detected in buying or selling a prohibited book. To the domiciliary visits every house is exposed at all hours, day and night, and woe to him in whose dwelling there shall be discovered one of these formidable enemies of the Spanish dominion in America! Every advantage was taken, moreover, of the superstitious fears of the weak; an instance of which may be given, that will excite the horror of the reader. A learned Mexican, Don Jose de Roxas, who died at New Orleans in 1811, *was denounced by his own mother*, for having a volume of Rousseau in his possession; and for this offence he was confined within the prisons of the inquisition for several years. He finally effected his escape to the United States, but it was several months before he could be convinced that the theory of the American Government, as explained to him, could really be

reduced to practice.* He became afterwards a most enthusiastic admirer of our political institutions.

In some parts of South America, especially Caracas and Buenos Ayres, whose situations led to more frequent intercourse with strangers than Mexico or Lima, the vigilance of the inquisition was probably often eluded; and it is not impossible that the commissioners themselves, were more or less rigid in the execution of their trusts. It is certain, that in Venezuela and La Plata, and perhaps St. Fee de Bogota, revolutionary politics had already formed a mine under the Spanish power, which only required a fit opportunity to explode.

With respect to the press, its liberty, as understood by us, was entirely out of the question. All that the Americans could aspire to, with any hope of success, was *the liberty of printing*, not of publishing; that is, no one could even establish a press without special permission. The city of Caraccas repeatedly besought the Council of the Indies, to grant them this privilege, but in vain. Perhaps the Spanish system of universal monopoly, united in that instance with expediency, in preventing the extension of an art so dangerous to tyranny, and inseparable from the true greatness and felicity of mankind. In Mexico and Lima, the press had been permitted, but on the most narrow and contracted scale. At Buenos Ayres, an indifferent press and types, which had belonged to the Jesuits of Cordova, were permitted to be set up, for the benefit of the Foundling Hospital; but very little use was made of them. It is remarkable that the establishment of the press has every where attended the first revolutionary movements in South

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* His papers are in my possession: I happened to lodge in the same house in New Orleans.

America. This blessing, so carefully denied the Americans, appears to be intimately connected with their independence, and at the same time, evinces the enlightened spirit of liberty by which they are animated. A remarkable instance of this is related by Guerra, in his history of the Revolution of Mexico; the Mexicans being unable to procure presses and types, taxed their own ingenuity, and although totally unacquainted with the art but from description, manufactured types of wood, and succeeded in printing with a kind of ink made of indigo. The writer before mentioned, states that he had in his possession several of their gazettes, very neatly printed. There is no circumstance which speaks more strongly the love of free and rational institutions, than their eagerness for the establishment of presses. There is an inseparable alliance between liberty and letters, because they give strength to public opinion; and this may be rendered more powerful than armies or kings. The progress of literature in South America, wherever the Spanish power has been cast off, is truly wonderful. The kings of Spain, aware of this dangerous thirst for knowledge in their American subjects, had of late years neglected nothing that might tend to check it. There are many in the city of Baltimore, who recollect the circumstance which took place in 1804; a corvette was despatched from Havana, to bring home fifteen or twenty young men, who had been placed by their parents at the Catholic seminary, under Mr. Dubourg. Can we for a moment doubt, that whatever external appearances these young men would afterwards be compelled to put on, that they must secretly detest a government, which could thus treat them? Or, that they would heartily rejoice to behold its sceptre crumbled in the dust? It is a fact but little known, that there were

in South America many valuable manuscripts, which were not permitted to be published; the valuable papers of the Mercurio Peruviana are exceptions; but the botanical works of the celebrated Mutis were only in manuscript, until the establishment of the Congress of New Grenada, by which they were directed to be published, before its members fell victims to the bloody executioner Morillo. About the year 1800, the Spanish ministry was seized with a momentary desire to encourage agriculture in the viceroyalty of La Plata, and as conducive to this end, permitted the establishment of a weekly journal, entitled, *El Semanario de Agricultura Industria, y Commercio.* It was like preaching the blessings of health to the patients of an hospital. The paper appeared on a mean type, and was continued down to the revolution by its editor, Dr. Castelli, a man of letters from Peru. The subjects treated of in this publication, are extremely limited, and with the great body of our readers would awaken no interest. Its essays are in general tolerably written, and occasionally throw light on the geography of the country, or point out its resources with a timid hand. The pages of the Semanario, were of course purified from political or religious heresies, and no dangerous variety of topics was allowed. When the revolution broke out, the editor became an actor in the scenes that followed, and his journal fell into neglect, or rather gave place to a new paper, entitled the Gazette of Buenos Ayres, established by the Junta, which, instead of essays on the natural advantages of the country, on the different kinds of soils, the proper modes of culture,

> —quo sidere terram
> Vertere, Mæcenas, ulmisque adjungere vitis
> Conveniat: que cura bonum, que cultus habendo
> Sit pecore—

was filled with politics, domestic and foreign news, the manifestoes of the government, and declamations on the liberty of printing, on the abuses of the colonial system, the political regeneration, abstract disquisitions on the nature of government and the rights of man, together with professions of loyalty to their *beloved* sovereign Ferdinand.

The progress in literature and science made by the natives of America, in spite of all these disadvantages, ought to give us a high opinion of their natural capacities, and in these the travellers in South America, have no difference of opinion. They all seem to agree, that they are neither deficient in quickness of perception, nor in perseverance in the most abstruse studies. They have certainly exhibited a much higher literary character, than we had any right to expect from the circumstances under which they were placed, so well calculated to keep them in a state of the most profound ignorance. When left free to pursue their own inclinations, I have no doubt they will produce their full quota of eminent men; to look for this under the Spanish regime, would be to look for "grapes on thorns, and figs on thistles." In their attainments they have had nothing to stimulate them but the love of learning itself. What may we not expect from them when all the avenues to preferment and distinction shall be laid open—when public opinion shall be purified by reason and sound philosophy—when patriotism shall elevate their national character—when national interest shall call forth native talents from obscurity, or prompt their cultivation—when national celebrity shall become the reward of wisdom and virtue? How different were the circumstances under which the sages and heroes of our revolution were reared! There were no schools in South America *in which to*

form great men, by giving them a practical knowledge of political life. Our colonial legislatures were schools for statesmen; we had a free press, and we shared besides in the political disputes which agitated Great Britain. Our colonial wars, made known to us our Washington—our colonial affairs, called forth the talents of a Franklin—our bar trained up a number of eloquent men to assert the cause of their country. Before the revolution, the South Americans could not be said to have any voice in public affairs, and no theatre of action was afforded for the exercise or display of talents as in our own country; and even if such characters could be formed, the want of general diffusion of knowledge among the people deprived them of the proper materials to act upon. Those numerous periodical works and light essays, which in our country are scattered every where, and eagerly read, and which operate like refreshing dews, were unknown to them. The only libraries in the country, were to be found in cloisters and colleges, while the number of works of modern date which came by stealth into their hands was inconsiderable. If the revolution found a number whose attainments were respectable, it is to be ascribed to the vigour and elasticity of their minds, which broke through the surrounding gloom. The utter indifference of the people of Caraccas in the year 1797, is known to have been the only cause which at that time, frustrated an attempt on the part of some of the most enlightened inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke. Their mental faculties had sunk into a state of torpor from the want of those subjects of higher interest, which alone could rouse them to action. There were none of those springs of public feeling to be touched which on ordinary occasions suffice to rouse and animate a people.

IV. Having taken a hasty glance at the geographical features of Spanish America and its population, I shall proceed to speak somewhat more in detail of the principles of the colonial government and policy; conceiving this in some degree necessary, in order to form a just idea of the nature of the contest which now prevails in those unhappy countries. The theory may be seen in the volumes of the *Recopilacion de las leyes de Indias;* but the practical operation is to be sought elsewhere. The admirable work of Campillo, a Spanish minister, unfolds its evils in a masterly manner, and with a boldness at which I was not a little surprised, considering the slavery of the Spanish press. Depons, in his Caraccas, has given some of its most prominent features; and while he *affects* to admire them, he acknowledges that they are but a mask concealing the most disgusting deformities. The occasional hints from Humboldt, bear the stamp of impartiality without any affectation of approving in theory what is bad in practice. Guerra, a learned Mexican, who published his history of Mexico in London, has treated the subject at large; but has unfortunately manifested so much bitterness and party feeling in his disquisitions, as to diminish the weight to which they would otherwise be entitled. The different manifestoes of independence, deal so much in generals, and are so declamatory, that they furnish very little data for the rational mind.

America, on its discovery and conquest, and grant by the pope, was considered a fief of the crown, independent of the Spanish possessions in Europe. Every thing relating to the Indies, emanated from the king alone, without any participation on the part of the Cortes or of the council Castile, instituted in its place during the reign of Charles V. As the affairs of the Indies grew in importance, its government assumed a higher

character. In 1511, the council of the Indies was established by Ferdinand, and perfected by Charles V. in 1524. Every thing relating to the Indies was confided to it, the king being always supposed to be present. All other subdivisions of power in the monarchy, were expressly forbidden to interfere in what related to the Indies; and all orders and decrees to be entitled to any force, had to be signed by the king, and communicated through the council. Besides being thus independent of Spain, each district, viceroyalty, or government, was independent of the other, but united under the king as their common head. Humboldt compares them to a number of separate, although confederated, states; but deprived of important rights in their commercial relation with the old world, and with each other. It is repeatedly asserted, that the Indies are not regarded as colonies, *but as independent, integral members of the empire, equal in dignity and rights to Spain.* This is fully supported, as well by the laws of the Indies, as by the addition which they give to the king's title. As incorporated feudatories, the Indies are exempt from any conformity to the laws, customs, or usages of Spain, excepting so far as they are expressly introduced.

The Spanish Americans, as the descendants of the first conquerors and settlers, ground their political rights, on the provisions of the code of the Indies. They contend, that their constitution is of a higher nature than that of Spain; inasmuch, as it rests upon *express compact*, between the monarch and their ancestors. They say, it was expressly stipulated, that all conquests, and discoveries, were to be made at their own risk and expense; and that they were forbidden in any instance to be made at the expense of the king. In consideration of which the first conquerors and settlers,

were to be *the lords of the soil;* they were to possess its government, immediately under the king, as their feudal head; while the Aborigines were given to them as vassals, on condition of instructing them in the christian religion, and in the arts of civilization. It was in virtue of this compact, that the American junta denied the right of bodies similarly constituted in Spain, to exercise authority over them, as this right alone appertained to the king, in his council of the Indies. They objected, on the same grounds, to the Spanish Cortes, which proposed to act in the name of the captive king; and admitting that it was regularly constituted, its authority could not lawfully extend over any other than the European part of the empire. There appears to be nothing clearer than this reasoning. Spain had no right to assume the sovereign's name for any other purpose, *than to provide for her own safety,* there being no connexion between her and the Indies, but through the sovereign; that connexion ceased the moment the sovereign was in a situation where his acts were null, and the royal authority for a time completely interrupted. The Peninsula, as a component part of the empire, was entitled from necessity to establish a Cortes, for the purpose of taking care of its own concerns; and each viceroyalty of the Indies, had an equal right to erect its junta for the same purpose. Here is the foundation of the dispute between Spain and the Indies; the conduct of the Spaniards in Europe, as well as those in authority in America, justly created disgust. The Europeans, instead of resorting to the Cortes in the first instance, successively erected juntas in the provinces, which not only claimed sovereignty over the rest of the Peninsula, but likewise over the Indies; while the functionaries in America, more anxious for the preservation

of their offices than for any thing else, openly avowed, *that America ought to follow the condition of Spain*, whatever that might be, as in the case of the war of the succession. The Americans who had been roused to the most lively enthusiasm in favour of Ferdinand—who amongst other extraordinary proofs of loyalty, had contributed *nineteen millions of dollars*, to aid the cause in Spain—who seemed to be animated with the most violent hatred to Napoleon, considered themselves as treated with gross insult by the Spaniards; and their loyalty was thus converted into hatred, first by the menaces of the Europeans, and next, by their resorting to force, and treating them as rebels.

But whatever the constitution of the Indies may be in theory, Spanish America has alway been *in fact*, held as colonies, subject to the will, caprice, and interest of the king of Spain, *and his European subjects*. They have been viewed only as the means of improving the condition of the metropolis, not as a co-equal independent empire, having a right to like favour, and advantage. For the benefit of the Europeans, the agriculture and manufactures of America were restricted, in order that those of the Peninsula might prosper; commerce was monopolized by the Spaniard, and its offices were bestowed on these aliens, in order that they might be enriched, notwithstanding the tantalizing declaration of the code, that Americans in all cases should be preferred. This boasted compact, therefore, could only tend to irritate and sour the minds of the Americans; while directly in contradiction to this charter, they, the descendants of the first settlers and conquerors, were made "hewers of wood, and drawers of water" to the inhabitants of Old Spain. In order to decide upon the justice or injustice of this case, it suffices merely to

change the relative situation, and to suppose the monopoly of the commerce and government of Spain, granted to the inhabitants of the Indies!

I shall now proceed to give a brief outline of the internal government adopted for these vast regions. They were divided, as has been already stated, into viceroyalties and captain-generalships; these again subdivided into intendencies or provinces, into corregidories, commanderies, and missions. The ecclesiastical divisions will be noticed hereafter. The viceroy is the representative of the king, while his authority lasts, and holds his court with considerable pomp and splendor. He presides over every department, and with the exception of the distant and tardy control of the council of the Indies, and the imperfect check of the audiencias, he may be considered supreme; uniting in himself all authority, civil and military. In latter times, it is true, various checks have been contrived to render his power less absolute, not through any desire to shield the American from oppression, but through jealous fear that he may conceive the idea of perpetuating his sway. The courts of the viceroys, especially those of Mexico and Peru, are said to be formed somewhat on the model of that of Madrid. "They have sumptuous establishments, officers of state, numerous guards of horse and foot, and as much display of magnificence and parade, as if they were invested with regal powers. Their salaries, although princely, form the smallest part of their income; the exercise of their unlimited authority, and the disposal of a number of lucrative offices, affords them great opportunities of accumulating riches. Exactions, lucrative concerns in some branches of commerce, monopolies, conniving at frauds practised by merchants, are the means on which they chiefly depend for raising their revenues." There are, no doubt very honourable excep-

tions, but it is natural to suppose, that the number who resist these temptations is not great. By the laws of the Indies, the viceroy, after the expiration of his term of office, is liable, like all other civil functionaries, to what is called the *residencia*,* that is, he is subject for a certain time to have his conduct examined into, at the instance of any person declaring himself aggrieved; but these powerful delinquents are seldom brought to justice; they are generally shielded from responsibility by the wealth and influence they have acquired. The short duration of their office, intended as a safeguard against the formation of ambitious designs, as well as to prevent the abuses of power, operate rather as an incentive to make the best of their opportunities of enriching themselves; while at the same time their government is generally lax, and enforces but little obedience from the people. This occounts for the apparent contradiction between the despotic nature of the government, and the mildness of its operation on the individual inhabitants. Mr. Brougham, in his treatise on the colonial policy, has explained this subject in a philosophic manner, and has shown, that even the distant provinces of Rome experienced a government much less rigid, than those in the immediate vicinity of the capital, notwithstanding the occasional acts of violence and injustice committed by the consuls, *or the laws which operated unfavourably to the prosperity of the aggregate population.*

* The *residencia* is still continued at Buenos Ayres. There are few of the chiefs of the revolution, who have not undergone this scrutiny into their conduct, and the presumption is, that it has more of reality in it, than under the old regime. While I was at Buenos Ayres, Rondeau and Saavedra were waiting their decisions in their respective causes. They have both since been declared *ciudadanos benemeritos*, or deserving citizens, without which they could not have been employed in any public offices.

The elegant manifesto of independence of Buenos Ayres, enumerating the evils of the government they have shaken off, thus expresses itself: "This system was acted upon with the utmost rigour by the viceroys, each of whom was invested with the authority of a vizier; their authority was sufficient to annihilate all who dared to displease them, and their vexations however great, had to be borne with patience, while those vexations were compared by their satellites or worshippers to the wrath of God." The *system* was certainly such as is here described, but its practical operation is exaggerated. The Spanish colonial government, operated most injuriously and oppressively on the colony in the aggregate; restricting its commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, by injudicious laws; but as respects the *individual colonists,* all writers seem to agree, that more freedom was enjoyed by them than in Old Spain. The reflected government did not *cherish,* but neither did it *scorch.* There were, perhaps, occasional exceptions which would have been redressed in Spain; but there was undoubtedly less *general oppression.*

The viceroy, as the military chief, is styled captain-general; and in this department is aided by the *junta de guerra;* he is also governor intendant of the province in which he resides; and, as such, he is at the head of the judicial department, assisted by the advice of a professional man, who is styled the assessor, but whose opinions he is not bound to follow. Every judicial sentence within his province must be signed by him, for which service he is entitled to certain fees over and above his regular salary. The intendants of provinces and the corregidors receive their appointments from the king, but are subject to the orders of the viceroy. The term province, as applied

in the Spanish system, has a different meaning from that attached to it in these states, previous to our revolution, where each province was a distinct government, with its governor and local legislature, dependent only on the crown of England, and more properly corresponding to the Spanish viceroyalty. But the Spanish province was a much more important division than the county with us.

The counterpoise of this extensive authority of the viceroy, is the audiencia; properly a court of appeals, deciding in *dernier resort,* all cases where the amount of the dispute does not exceed ten thousand dollars; beyond that sum, an appeal lies to the council of the Indies. It also possesses original jurisdiction in causes above a certain amount. The viceroy is the honorary president of this body; whose check upon his power extends no farther than to remonstrate, and to make representations to the council of the Indies. Infinite pains are taken, however, to give respectability to the audiencia; and the viceroys generally find it their interest to cultivate a good understanding. The privileges and immunities with which they are clothed, have also a tendency to raise a certain awe in the minds of the colonists. They are almost invariably Europeans; and considerable pains are taken in their selection. In order to keep them as much as possible distinct in feeling and interest from the inhabitants, they are forbidden to marry, enter into commerce, or to hold property in the country, and are even restricted in their social intercourse. The obvious effect of this law, if rigidly observed, must be to prevent them from entertaining much affection for the countries under their jurisdiction, or regard for its happiness and prosperity. To make amends, they are the faithful executors of the king's will, as expressed in the council of the Indies. The fidelity

of the viceroys has sometimes been suspected; but as far as I can learn, this has never been the case with the audiencia. This body has at times been regarded by the people, as the defenders of public liberty, standing between them and the absolute authority of the viceroy. They have controul over all other tribunals of justice, civil and ecclesiastical. The audiencia is composed of a regent, and three oydores, with two fiscals, (attorney-generals), one for civil, and the other for criminal matters; a reporter, and an alguazil mayor. It has the right of corresponding directly with the king; and it is its duty, to inform the council of the Indies of the state of the colony. To it are also confided all important commissions, with the exception of the military. One of the most important prerogatives of the audiencia, is that of succeeding to the viceroy, in case of his decease, and until the appointment of another by the king. In this case, the regent or eldest oydore represents the head of the vacated executive power.

In order to form a correct idea of the internal, or domestic government, it is necessary to attend to the manner in which the Spanish settlements are generally made, although there are exceptions. Instead of being scattered over the face of the country, like our farmers and planters, they are most usually collected in larger or smaller groups, at some distance from each other; at least, this was the mode in which the Spanish settlements were formed at an early period, while their savage neighbours were more formidable. They began by building a town or village, and cultivating the lands in its immediate vicinity, while the space betweeen different establishments lay waste, until afterwards appropriated for estancias or grazing farms, attended to by solitary shepherds, living in wretched huts, at great distances from each other. In consequence of these circum-

stances, exact territorial boundaries between different provinces or districts, were not attended to as in this country. The new settlement or village, was always made with the sanction of the government, and was attached to some particular jurisdiction. Thus a particular village and its vicinage, was known to form a part of such a corregidory, and this of some intendancy. Hence the difficulties of stating, with any precision, the boundaries between different provinces. The estancias or grazing farms, belonged to persons in the towns and villages, and it is presumed, were under the same jurisdiction. It was no doubt the policy of Spain, to concentrate the American population as far as practicable. It was thus more easily controlled; a small guard of soldiers can overawe a considerable village, but the case would be very different, where the same population is scattered over a considerable surface. South America, therefore, exhibits a great number of villages, populous districts, and considerable cities surrounded by vast deserts. This distribution has produced serious obstacles to the progress of the revolution, as well on account of the facilities afforded to the enemy, as from the clashing interests and feelings of a number of petty independent communities, with narrow local views of policy, springing up immediately after throwing off the Spanish yoke.

The municipal governments exhibited an important exception to the general despotic character of the colonial system. The cabildos, which are popular assemblies, were intrusted with the minutiæ of the internal government, with the police, the administration of justice in ordinary cases, and with other powers more various and important than those of our corporations. The persons who composed the deliberative part of this body were called regidors, a term corresponding in

some measure with that of aldermen; the alcades, and other officers attached to this body, constitute the cabildo, ayuntamiento, or corporation. Those places which possessed cabildos, had in their local governments, some considerable advantages over the cities of Spain, which were allowed, to make amends for their distance from the metropolis, and their possessing no *apoderados*, or authorised agents to represent them in the council of the Indies, as the cities of Spain were represented in the council of Castile. This municipal institution was borrowed, however, from those of Spain. Their history is well known; they were established in that country, for the same reasons that Louis le Gros introduced the communes into France, and the English monarchs extended the powers of parliament; in order to form a counterpoise to the great feudatories or vassals, the inhabitants of the cities were permitted to establish municipal tribunals, exempt from all controul but that of the crown. By this means, the kings were enabled to get the better of the barons, after which, both in France and Spain, these bodies were either narrowed in their powers, or treated with neglect; an occurrence which fortunately did not take place in England.

The Spaniards had much attachment to the cabildos; and the first settlers and conquerors took great pains to introduce them into America; they were besides, desirous of enlarging their powers as much as possible. In the first instance, they were granted to every village, until after experience proved, that they placed more power in the hands of the inhabitants, than was thought convenient to allow; especially as it was more extensive than had ever been given to the cabildos of Spain. Depons mentions a remarkable instance of what he calls usurpation on the part of the cabildos; its consequences resemble so much the occurrences that have taken place

in some parts of South America, since the expulsion of the Spanish authorities, that I cannot refrain from extracting it. " The weakness of the governor Villacindá, suffered the cabildos of Venezuela to take a gigantic stride towards the usurpation of power. This governor, who died in 1556, ordained, to the prejudice of his lieutenant-general, that during the vacancy, the cabildos should govern the province, each in its district, until the arrival of a regular successor. Never, perhaps, did imagination conceive an idea so absurd; but it was too flattering to those whom it clothed with authority, not to be considered by them as wise. Thus were the powers of government distributed into the inexperienced hands of the cabildos. *Each district of a cabildo became a republic, independent of the republic in its vicinity.* This provisionary government, presented during a year that it existed, a complete picture of chaos and confusion." He farther informs us, that the cabildos sent a deputy to the king, with instructions to make a number of very important requests; one of which was, that in case of the death of the governor, and before the appointment of a successor, the government might be placed in their hands; the greater part of their requests were granted. The consequence of this increase of power, was several very serious collisions with the other branches of the government, particularly in the year 1725, when the cabildo of Caraccas deposed the governor Portalis, and threw him into prison. This finally led to a change in the policy of establishing new cabildos, and occasioned the powers of those already established to be curtailed.

The cabildo, however, is far from being a popular assembly, according to our ideas. It is not properly elective, popular elections having ceased in Spain before the introduction of these corporations into

America. But they are connected in interest with the people, from the nature of their composition, none but native Americans, or Spaniards long settled in the country, being eligible. The places of regidor are sold by the king, but under the conditions before specified. The regidors annually elect the two alcaldes, *de primer* and *segundo voto*, who are very important magistrates in the local administration. This is the only semblance of election under the Spanish system in America. The number of the regidors varied in different cities, but the chief magistrate of the place, is always the honorary president of the cabildo. These municipalities have been compared to the Roman dicuriones, established in their distant provinces. Although not elected by the people, they are regarded as their representatives, and are connected with them by ties and interests, which the viceroys and oydores are not allowed to form, or entertain. I scarcely know an instance in which they have not taken side with the people. They have been uniformly the organ through which their sentiments have been expressed. In the present contest, the cabildos have generally taken the lead in casting off the royal authority, and we are informed by Guerra, that in Mexico, on account of this well-known inclination, they were for a time suppressed. These municipal bodies, intended at first to oversee the details of the police, *had a constant tendency in America*, to acquire greater importance and influence with the people, on account of the variety of circumstances sufficiently obvious to the reflecting mind; while at the same time, similar institutions in Spain were every day becoming of less account. While in America, there existed a state of things favourable to liberty, in the facility of obtaining subsistence, and the absence of comparatively oppressive exactions from the state, and

the owners of fiefs in Spain, the people were ground and oppressed by tax-gatherers, landlords, and the clergy, and at the same time assailed by the ills of poverty and want.

These are the leading features of the civil government. The only popular branch was possessed of very limited powers compared to our local legislatures; and from the manner in which legislative, executive, and judicial acts, are blended in all despotic governments, it is not easy to specify the boundaries between these different jurisdictions. I question much, whether any but an American or an Englishman, can accurately comprehend the difference; I never met with any other who had a clear notion of it in practice. To us who are accustomed from infancy to the operations of free government, it appears no way difficult to distinguish what is properly a legislative, executive, or judicial act, but this is far from being the case with others, as I had frequent opportunities of remarking in the most intelligent Frenchmen or Spaniards. The cabildo is not intended as a check on the viceroy or audiencia, but probably to save them trouble. The members are not sufficiently numerous to acquire an extensive influence over the community, which they doubtless would do, if all the different municipalities were united into a numerous legislative body. The cabildo cannot pass laws, but may do many acts, that with us, who have been bred under a government of laws, would imply extensive legislative powers. The laws of the Indies are the code of the colonies, together with such new decrees as from time to time emanate from the king in his council, and promulged by the viceroy. But independently of these, the viceroy issues his own decree, by *bando* or proclamation, often embracing the subjects, which under our colonial government, could only

proceed from the provincial legislature, of the King of England and parliament. It is therefore in vain to seek for the exact boundaries which separate the authority of the viceroy, of the audiencia, or of the cabildo. The king in his council of the Indies, is absolute as respects America; that is, he unites in himself the three great branches of government. The viceroy, so far as he is not directly controlled by the council of the Indies, possesses a similar power over all departments below him. The audiencia is the supreme court of judicature, and the council of the viceroy; while the cabildo is absolute with respect to those things under its control, and yet acts in obedience to the viceroy, when he thinks proper to interfere. From these elements, some idea may be formed of the kind of governments established on the expulsion of the Spanish authorities. It is natural to expect, that the new establishment must partake more or less of the character of the old. To visionary theorists, it may appear an easy matter for a people to shake off their old habits, and to *unlearn at once;* but experience and good sense forbid us to form any such expectations.* Heretofore in Spanish America,

* I have heard it expressed by persons of some pretensions, that nothing is necessary but the introduction into any country, of the forms of free government, and that the people will at once be free as a matter of course. This is a great mistake. A people must be educated and prepared for freedom. It is true that despotic forms will soon extinguish the flame of liberty; but a different kind of government, such as we enjoy, would be useless and inoperative among a slavish ignorant people. All that can be expected is to give them the best that circumstances will allow, and set to work to prepare them for a better by education and the diffusion of knowledge. The progress of the South Americans is more rapid than their most sanguine friends had any right to expect; that they should at once establish a government such as ours, surely ought not to be required.

no specific rights of the citizen were exactly defined or acknowledged; and where the law is uncertain and vague, there can be no security for person or property, however circumstances and situations may for a time afford a kind of freedom from oppression.

The colonial government had been gradually acquiring a singular complexity by the addition of a great number of offices to each of the principal departments. The greater part of these offices were sold at fixed prices, and formed no inconsiderable item in the royal revenue. Every new office that was created, required afterwards a dozen others to watch over it; the miserable refuge of a government which is conscious of the worthlessness of all its agents, and which sees that its greedy and insatiable exactions, justify the endeavours of all to defraud. In those departments connected with the royal revenue, this complexity is chiefly remarkable. In the customs, and in the mine districts, there are checks upon checks without end. But they generally seem to combine in one object, that of plundering both the king and his American subjects. So certainly did any kind of office lead to fortune, that they were often solicited without salary, and many passed to the colonies merely as expectants; about every office there were at least half a dozen of these hungry creatures, watching for the death or resignation of the incumbent.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy formed a part of the colonial government, and contributed perhaps more to the support of the royal authority than even the military force. Spanish America exhibits a singular exception to the authority exercised by the Popes over the Catholic Church throughout the world. Pope Alexander VI. by his bull of 1501, transferred to the kings of Spain all jurisdiction which he and his successors might have claimed, over the churches to be established

in the new world. The King of Spain became the head of the church in America, almost as completely as Henry VIII. of the church of England. The nomination of all bishops, and to other benefices of the church of America, is therefore a royal prerogative, although they are presented to the Pope for his sanction. But his holiness can hold no communication with the church in America, excepting through the council of the Indies. All briefs, bulls, and dispensations must be sent to Spain, and be sanctioned by the king before they can reach America. The tythes, the ecclesiastical first fruits, and the profits of vacant benefices, belong to the crown in consequence of this concession. The Popes have in vain endeavoured to get back the extensive authority they had thus parted with; but it has been found of too much importance in a political point of view ever to be restored. An attempt was even made by one of the kings of Spain to establish a patriarch in America, so as to be entirely independent of the church of Rome. "The Spanish policy has reduced the political authority for the purpose of increasing that of the king, which has become in the Spanish Indies the centre of power, and the source of every favour, of every employ, either civil or ecclesiastical. The consequence is, that whatever profession a Spaniard embraces in America, his hopes are always dependent on the king. From the lowest officer to the viceroy, from the door-keeper to the chiefs of justice, from the meanest notary of the administration to the intendant, from the porter of a cathedral to a bishop, all are nominated by the king. In the distribution of this infinity of employs, of dignities and honours, consists the grand bulwark of the royal power in America."

The Catholic church in America was placed in a singular situation by the revolution. It became a question whether the Pope should be regarded as the head of the church, or whether the local authorities should exercise the same jurisdiction as was possessed by the king. The Bishop of Quito assumed the pontifical authority at once, and when the Pope fulminated his excommunication against the insurgents, the bishop gave them a dispensation. At Buenos Ayres, after a great deal written, pro. and con. the following question was put by the junta to several of the most distinguished ecclesiastics: whether the right of presentation *(real patronata)* appertains to the king personally, or as an incident of the sovereignty which he exercises? Another question was proposed, properly a corollary of the foregoing, whether the junta had any right to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs? The learned clergy gave their opinions at large, founded upon much curious reasoning, and, as might have been expected, in conformity to the wishes of the junta. The government of Buenos Ayres is therefore the head of the church, which has been made use of with considerable success, in propagating republican doctrines amongst a people always accustomed to pay the greatest deference to the instructions of their priests. The American clergy engage in this work heartily and sincerely; not so with the higher dignitaries of the church, who are, however, sufficiently compliant in favour of the party which happens to be uppermost. The congress of 1815 passed a resolution requiring the director to send an envoy to the Pope, for the purpose of regulating their spiritual affairs; one was actually sent, but his holiness had espoused the cause of Spain, and fulminated an excommunication against the patriots. This thunderbolt,

once so terrible, fell perfectly harmless at Buenos Ayres. The only effect it had was to put a stop to the sale of bulls and dispensations, so injurious to public morals, and so gross an imposition upon the common sense of the people. Yet so slowly do men give up old fixed habits, that it was thought necessary, during lent, to put a general notice on the door of the cathedral, that all persons who thought proper might eat beef, which could only be done before, *with a safe conscience*, by a special dispensation procured at the expense of six or eight rials. I read this notice myself. Beef is the common food, and the poorer classes would find it difficult to subsist without it; hence a considerable revenue was formerly raised from this sale of dispensations. I am not to be understood to convey an idea, that the people are not, when viewed with the eyes of a citizen of the United States, superstitious; they are only somewhat less superstitious than formerly. It is however a singular fact, that the catholic church in South America is more independent of the pope than even that of the United States, or Ireland: and it appears to me, that the inevitable consequence of the independence of South America, will be its independence of the papal hierarchy.

The subject of the royal revenues is one of the most curious in the system of government adopted for the Indies. It is roundly asserted by Herera, that the king contributed nothing towards the magnificent conquests effected by his enterprising subjects; but these were no sooner accomplished, than not satisfied with the dominion and the advantages of trade, he became the master and owner of every thing. The royal portions of gold and silver, and of every other metal, the avails of the customs, the appointments to office, and the numerous other incidents of supreme authority were not sufficient;

but after imposing all the taxes and burthens to which the metropolis was subject, many others were devised exclusively for the Indies. The king set up various oppressive monopolies; the popes granted him the ecclesiastical tythes; he exacted tributes from the unfortunate natives; he introduced the odious alcavala, or tax on sales and purchases; and, in the early periods of the conquest, he was not ashamed to claim a portion of the spoils taken from unoffending nations, attacked and butchered with no other pretext that that of possessing their wealth.

In noticing these different sources of revenue, I shall begin with the royal fifths of gold and silver, as the most important branch. There was, in the first instance, a duty paid for the privilege of working the precious metals; but the duties at present received by the crown are, 1st. one and a half per cent. *cobos*, or old established duty to the king; 2d. six per cent. *real diesmos*, or king's portion of the tythes; 3d. the *derechos de fundicion*, to defray the expences of smelting and refining; and lastly, one rial for every mark of silver, to pay the salaries of the officers of the tribunal of the mines: the whole amount, is about fourteen per cent. upon all the precious metals extracted from the mines. The profits of the crown derived from the monopoly of quicksilver, without which the mines cannot be worked, is very considerable. The diminution of the produce of the mines during the last ten years, is thought by many politicians to be one of the causes of the commercial embarrassments throughout the world. Those of Mexico, during that period, it appears, from the official documents, have scarcely produced a third of the annual amount drawn from them formerly. The mines of La Plata, it is presumed, have produced still less; but it is probable that those of Lima have undergone no sensible diminution.

The quantity of the precious metals withheld from circulation, by the troubles of America, has never been ascertained with accuracy; what may have been the effect of this on the commercial world, is still more difficult to conjecture. It is well known, that there were immense quantities of gold and silver in Spanish America, which were called into circulation, and probably contributed to make up the defect produced by a partial failure of supply from the mines.

The next branch of revenue I shall notice, is the alcavala, than which a more vexatious exaction could not well be contrived.* It is a duty varying from one to four per cent. on all sales and purchases, with the exceptions in favour of the church and of paupers. Every merchant, shopkeeper, and tradesman, was compelled to deliver, on oath, an exact account of his purchases and sales. The same thing was exacted of every private family, and even their provisions purchased at market were not exempted. Although this harassing and troublesome tax, in the course of time, was rendered less vexatious, it is evident that the Spaniards are still far behind the other nations of Europe, in the *science of taxation*, if I may so express myself. To draw the greatest revenue in the manner least vexatious or oppressive to industry, is a subject of so much moment to every civilized community, that it deserves to be classed among the most important sciences. The *alcavala* was generally commuted for a fixed sum; and at present, it is little more than a species of indirect tax

* It originated in Spain during the struggle to expel the Moors; it was an extraordinary contribution to enable the king of Spain to maintain the contest, and was afterwards continued when the reason ceased, and was introduced into America contrary to every principle of justice.

on retailers. It differs from the duties collected at the custom houses in the interior, called *puertos secos*, or dry ports, where goods paid transit duties in nature of the alcavala, and which amounted to a very high per centage.

But the most considerable source of revenue next to the royal portion of the precious metals, was that derived from the customs. The duties on merchandise amounted to about thirty-four per cent. exclusive of the transit duties so frequently paid in the interior. It is stated by Arispe, in his memoir on the *provincias internas* of New Spain, that European merchandise had to pay duties thirty times before they reached the town of Coaquila, where he resided! The maritime duties consisted of the almoxarifasgo, which was collected only on what was shipped or landed; that is, on entering and clearing. The next was the armada and armadilla; the intention of which was to defray the expense of light vessels, employed to defend the coast against the incursion of pirates, at a period when they were much infested by them; although this had ceased long ago, the tax is still continued. There were also duties of consulate and anchorage, in order to defray the expenses of the officers employed. These duties yielded a considerable revenue to Spain, in those provinces which had been the seats of the revolution. The revenues derived from New Grenada, Venezuela, La Plata, and Chili, from these sources, have been lost to Spain; their amount probably exceeded even the produce of the mines; not to speak of the deprivation of trade to these countries, a deprivation which is fast sinking Spain herself to wretchedness and poverty, staggering as she is, under the weight of burthens which have not been diminished, in proportion to the diminution of her strength.

The king, as head of the church, derives also con-

siderable revenues from that source. The principal is the tythes, from which nothing is exempted; and their collection is so rigid, that, according to the laws of the Indies, no one can change his residence without having first obtained a certificate of having discharged them. They are collected by the the king's officers, but deposited in a distinct treasury. In some instances, however, they were collected by the clergy, who retained all but the king's portion. According to the ordinance of Charles V. at Madrid, 1539, they were divided in the following manner; one fourth was assigned to the bishop of the diocese, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The other half was divided into nine parts, two of which, *los dos novenos*, were transmitted to the king. The other seven parts, were appropriated to the support of the parochial clergy, and to other pious uses. The bull *de crusada*, a tax upon the piety of the people, is also productive. It is a papal dispensation, issued every two years, and sold to the Americans at certain prices graduated by the purses of the buyers. There are other bulls, the most remarkable of which was that of composition, enabling a thief or scoundrel to retain with a clear conscience, the property of which he had cheated his neighbour. The *messada* and *primer annata*, were revenues derived from the first fruits of civil and ecclesiastical offices. The first was a portion of the income of the benefices, generally equal to a month's salary, but not exacted until after four month's enjoyment. The latter is one half of the year's salary exacted before entering upon the office, civil as well as ecclesiastical. The *vacantes mayores* and *minores* were incidents of the church revenues. The proceeds of all vacant benefices, according to the laws of the Indies, must be paid into the royal treasury;

and the confiscated property of the Jesuits amounted to a considerable sum.*

The sale of offices was also considered a source of public revenue. With few exceptions, the colonial offices were exposed to sale, and it is not improbable, that this may have been one cause of their extraordinary multiplication. The author of Gil Blas can hardly be accused of exaggeration, in his description of the manner in which offices are bought and sold, or intrigued for at the Spanish court.

A revenue of no trifling amount, was derived from the monopolies of tobacco, salt, and quicksilver, as well as from the excise on spirituous liquors, where circumstances did not forbid their distillation. These are generally so high, and exacted in so arbitrary a manner, as to be exceedingly oppressive. Stamped paper, or *papel sellado*, considering its extensive uses, is also a lucrative branch. Every public act or private agreement, must be upon stamped paper; and considering the immense quantity consumed in law suits, where every thing is reduced to writing, the evidence, pleas, statements, arguments of the parties and their counsel; the decrees, interlocutory or final, of the judge; it must constitute a very important branch of revenue. Every document obtained from the government and its different branches, must be written on it; the price is also enormously high, varying from twenty-five cents to a dollar for every sheet. There was also a duty on the importation of slaves, which amounted to about thirty dollars a head; although the Spaniards did not engage

* These two items are at present of great importance in estimating the resources of the patriot government.

in the slave trade, they willingly gave it sanction and encouragement.

The worst part of the Spanish exactions, was that which fell on the Indians. In the first instance, these unfortunate people were held by the conquerors as slaves, and treated with a degree of cruelty unexampled. They were parcelled out into repartimientos,* of greater or less extent, according to the dignity of the person to whom the grant was made. The Indians were considered as belonging to the king, not as subjects, but as slaves; and he thought it right to reward the conquerors, by allowing them their services for certain periods. It was not until the year 1542, that through the energetic remonstrances of Las Casas, and the rapid diminution of the Indians, this wicked and cruel oppression was compelled to give way to a substitute in theory at least, of a milder character. The *incomiendas* were established, by which a certain number of Indian families, were presumed to be placed under the protection of some person of virtue and humanity, thus creating, as was supposed, the relation of the Roman client and patron. The Indians were declared free, and in lieu of the taxes and dues paid by other subjects, a poll tax was imposed upon all, from eighteen to fifty, amounting to about five dollars each. This tax, and the vexations practised by the *incomenderos*, who perverted their trusts, left the Indians in a situation but little better. It was not until the gradual extinction of those estates, that their situation was at all improved. Humboldt states, that of late years, the Indian population has been observed to increase, which he considers as the best proof that their condition is improving.

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* From the word *repartir*, to divide, to distribute.

If the Spanish kings are entitled to credit for their endeavours to relieve the Indians from the oppressions of the great landholders, there is one species of imposition practised by themselves on these unfortunate people, which more than counterbalances their benevolent policy in other particulars. It is found that the Indian can best withstand the destructive occupation of labouring in the mines, and that Europeans or negroes perish almost instantly; the unwholesome labour is, therefore, assigned to the Indian. Probably the true reason is, that their *loss* excites less sympathy. There is an annual conscription, called the *mita*, to work in the royal mines. The effect of this barbarous oppression, is described in the following manner by a Spanish writer:—"Those who go by the orders of the king, to work in Potosi, abandon their country with despair in their hearts, being persuaded that the greater part of those who descend into the mines, are seized with asthma, and die in the course of a few months. The day of their departure is a day of sadness. These victims of restraint present themselves before the priest, who, clothed in his sacerdotal habits, waits for them at the door with the cross in his hand; he sprinkles them with holy water, then reads the usual prayer, and says a mass for them, which they pay for. They then repair to the public square, accompanied by their friends and relations, whom they embrace, and then take leave in the midst of sobbings and tears, followed by their wives and children: with countenances sad and downcast, they commence their journey. This afflicting scene is still further heightened by the sound of their small drums and bells, which usually give the signal for their departure."* Such is the price at which the gold of the new

* Travels of Sobreviela.

world has been purchased! Who would not say, far better that the cursed metal had never been disturbed in its subterraneous caverns, if these be the only terms on which it can be procured. But the fact is not so—it is the *compulsion* chiefly, which excites this horror among the oppressed Indians; for there are many who voluntarily engage themselves to work in the mines, although the occupation is certainly unhealthy—but the *risk* is encountered, when a prospect of reward is held out—nor is it so great when not performed as a task, and when the labourer is allowed to withdraw at the first signal of approaching disease. The Indians are, besides, liable to a great many personal services, not so unhealthy, but equally oppressive. The revolution has uniformly relieved them from all of these: one of the first steps on the part of the patriots, being to publish by proclamation, the entire liberation of the Indians from every species of thraldom, and placing him upon the same footing as to political and civil rights, with all other citizens. I have in my possession, curious specimens of these decrees, printed in the three principal native languages of La Plata, the Guaranay, Aymara, and Quechu. Every change in these devoted countries, cannot but be for the better.

V. The outline I have sketched of the Spanish colonial policy, would be incomplete, without some account of the course pursued with respect to its commerce. The first years of the discovery of America, were almost exclusively taken up in a restless search after the precious metals, while sober and regular industry was despised. Immense sums were extorted from the Mexicans and the Peruvians, while the richest mines of the universe were laid open to the avarice of the conquerors. With the exception of Mexico and Peru, and

the fabled Eldorado, America was neglected. It was natural for the Spaniards to suppose, that the exhaustless treasures of the new world, would enable them to dispense with those arts, which other nations, less fortunate, were compelled to pursue, as the means of obtaining that which their discoveries and conquests had enabled them at once to possess: ignorant of the principles now so firmly established in political economy, by the experience of mankind, that labour and industry alone constitute real wealth, and that the nations most excelling in these, will always have the precious metals at their command. It is a singular fact, now universally acknowledged, that of all the nations of Europe, *Spain has been the least really and substantially benefitted by the discovery of the wonderful treasures of America;* because they have induced her to neglect those arts, without which every nation must be poor.

It is almost impossible for a continental nation to prosper, where agriculture, commerce, and manufactures do not flourish. These arts, so essential to national prosperity, were contemned by the Spanish colonial system. Commerce was incompatible with the design of hiding, with a miser's fears, the treasures of the new world. At the same time, with a view to secure to the metropolis, all the precious metals of America, the Spanish government conceived the visionary project of making the colonies, or rather conquests, dependent for all the necessaries and luxuries of life. The policy was, to confine the colonies to the search of the precious metals, and the preparation of a few valuable products peculiar to the new world, and these were to centre in the metropolis. Agriculture and manufactures were therefore prohibited, excepting where it was absolutely impossible to dispense with them. It has already been remarked as a singular circumstance, that the Spaniards

in America, for nearly two centuries after its discovery, did little more than occupy the ancient seats of the half civilized Aborigines, in the interior of the continent, and along the sides of the Andes. They were thus placed, partly for the same reasons; there was little or nothing to attract them to the sea board, as would have been the case, if a free and constant intercourse had been kept up with the other parts of the globe. Those portions of America, where the precious metals were not abundant, such as Venezuela and La Plata, were extremely late in obtaining any importance, because the numerous restrictions imposed on commerce, rendered their agricultural products of little or no value.* It was not until the example presented by the colonies of other nations, forced itself upon the attention of Spain, together with other circumstances, if possible, still more potent, that she reluctantly relaxed somewhat of her policy, although the state of things which existed when it was first adopted, had entirely changed. The expulsion of the Moors, the loss of the Netherlands and of the Italian possessions, rendered it no longer possible to supply America with articles of European manufacture, or to carry her products to profitable markets. An incapacity which increased with her growth, for she grew in spite of a policy, the most vexatious and oppressive that can be imagined.

* Dr. Moreno states, that *wheat* had been used for the purpose of filling the mud holes in the streets of Buenos Ayres! Humboldt tells us, that but a small portion of the products of New Spain can be carried to market—the remainder perishes. In Caraccas and Buenos Ayres, immense quantities of hides and other produce, previous to the temporary opening of trade to neutrals in 1793, were stored in the magazines for want of vent. In this state of things, what encouragement to the *cultivation* of the *earth*? See Dr. Moreno's pamphlet on the subject of free trade.

For more than a century, the whole commerce of Spanish America centered in the city of Seville. No vessel was permitted to sail for America, without first being examined at this port, to which she was in like manner compelled to return. A policy originating in the jealousy of all intercourse with the Spanish Indies. Fortunately that jealousy could not counteract the laws of nature, however it might cramp and embarrass their operations. The wants of the Indies came to be supplied by those very foreigners whom Spain was so studious of excluding from any participation in their trade. It gave rise to that most extraordinary practice of smuggling, whose effect was to place Spain in a worse situation in respect to her colonies, than every other nation which thought proper to take advantage of her folly. Before the contraband system had been completely organized, the products of America, with the exception of her gold and silver, were worth absolutely nothing; because of the total want of competition between the different ports of Spain, as well as between the different nations of Europe; while European manufactures bore such enormous prices, that none but those who were engaged in robbing the Indians of their gold, or in compelling them to dig for it in the mines, could afford to purchase. The temptations which were therefore held out to commercial men of all nations, were such as to justify almost every risk. So deeply was the interest of the Americans enlisted in favour of the contraband, that it became a matter of honour to render it every assistance in their power. It was in vain that religion was brought in to aid its suppression, or that smuggling was denounced as a *mortal sin*, and the clergy forbidden to give absolution to any one who should be guilty of this offence. "There is no time worse employed," says Depons, "than that which

the priest spends in making this publication; there is no act in the whole ecclesiastic Liturgy which makes less impression on the Spaniard." It was no less the interest of the whole swarm of officers, from the viceroy down to the meanest centinel, whose object was to make the most of their situations, to assist in the pious work of practising these frauds (if they deserve that name) upon the king; and probably the king himself was ultimately more benefited in the breach of his laws than in their observance, if we take into view the increase and advancement of his American possessions. But kings are apt to be short-sighted, and to look only to their own immediate advantage, whatever may be thought by those who are fond of them; and the reason of this is given by Mirabeau, in one short sentence, "kings perish, but the people are immortal."

Bribery and corruption became by this means intimately interwoven with every thing relating to colonial transactions, and contributed much to mitigate the rigor of the system, which, if enforced, would have completely checked the progress of the Spanish settlements.* It is natural to expect, that when compared with other colonies, possessing much inferior advantages, their progress would be slow. The French system, although not entirely free from the prevalent error of exclusive companies, is thought by some to have been the least oppressive. Great Britain endeavoured

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* But this mitigation was far from producing in all respects the effects of regular commerce; it is observed by a Spanish writer, Filangieri: "In this case the exclusive commerce must become injurious to the merchants of the metropolis, as well as ruinous to the colonies: for a clandestine commerce is only beneficial to a few bold and avaricious contrabandists, who taking advantage of the existing laws, rob both the metropolis and the colonies."

to monopolize the commerce of her North American possessions, and injudiciously thwarted their trade with the West Indies; a trade, without which, it was as impossible to pay her for the products which she furnished, as it would now be to discharge the balance against us, without the aid of the commerce which we carry on with different parts of the world. But when compared to the parent state, neither the colonies of France nor of England, bore the same proportion as the Spanish colonies to Spain; and those countries moreover, were not absolutely incapable of supplying their colonies with articles of European manufacture, although the colonies could not always find a market, at least the best market, for their products in the ports of the mother country. The establishments of the French, English, and Dutch were formed, it is true, with different views from those of Spain; they calculated on seeking for articles of export on the surface of the earth, and not in its bowels.

Their value *depended upon the market;* commerce was therefore indispensable. The North American provinces and other colonies, although under distinct governments, were permitted to have a free and unconstrained intercourse with each other; while the Spanish American viceroyalties stood upon the same footing as if they were each a foreign nation. In our rupture with Great Britain, no one cause operated more powerfully on our minds, than the attempt to force a monopoly of our commerce, as well as to make us dependent upon her alone for every article of European manufacture. It was not with satisfaction we saw the inhabitants of Great Britain carrying their products wheresoever they could find a market, while we were not permitted to carry ours to other nations, or to receive their commodities but in a circuitous manner. It was a policy

which produced heart-burnings with freemen, who had lost nothing of the just sense of their rights by transplantation to America. The result proved how unwise this attempt was to change the natural current of commerce. Since America has been left free to engage in the competition so much dreaded, the trade of Great Britain has become infinitely more lucrative than it otherwise would have been, for the simple reason, *that we have been able to purchase more from her by being able to sell more to others.* No proposition can be more clearly proved, than that the prosperity of one nation is a general benefit to all, and it is unquestionable, that the prosperity of the colony adds to the prosperity of the parent state, not by the dominion and government of it, but by the market which a people of similar habits and wants must furnish for her products. Nearly the same sentiment is expressed by the enlightened statesman, Campillo. To illustrate the subject by a familiar comparison, what man in any kind of business, would not rather place himself in the midst of a hundred free and industrious families, than in the neighbourhood of a planter the master of as many slaves? Such have been the leading principles of the Spanish colonial policy; they have undergone considerable changes at different periods; but these changes were not the result of enlightened reflection, but brought about by circumstances which could not be resisted. A rapid survey of the commercial history of Spanish America will confirm the justice of the preceding observations.

The principle upon which the whole system was built was simply this, that the colony existed only for the benefit of the inhabitants of the metropolis.* The

* The following is the acknowledgment of a Spanish writer, in a work as late as 1816 —"Espagna con industria, fuerte y rica," page

colony being the property of the metropolis, its native inhabitants were in some measure regarded in the light of vassals to the natives of Old Spain. The object constantly in view in the system of colonial government, was to gather wealth in the hands of the Spanish merchants, to foster and enrich Spanish manufactures, to indulge favorites and parasites, to support military, civil, and religious functionaries, and finally, to furnish the means of carrying on wars in which the Indies had not the most distant concern. If all the items furnished by Spanish America were set down, they would furnish a curious account against the metropolis. One of these would be fifty millions of dollars for the palace of the escurial; another would be the expences of a war of *seventy years*, carried on by Spain against the Netherlands. Almost every branch of industry, which would in any way interfere with those of Spain was strictly prohibited; while the inhabitants of Spain were freely permitted to pursue whatever might contribute to their wealth, comfort, or aggrandisement. America was forbidden to pursue those arts which are in some measure necessary to every civilized community. The insulting threat of an English minister, that he would not permit us *to forge even a hob nail*, was in Spanish America literally carried into effect. In the first instance, as gold and silver, and a few of the precious productions,

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123. "Spain with industry strong and rich." *En todas las naciones fuertes ha consistido el sistema colonial en el fomento de la metropoli, combinado, en lo parte possible, con el de las colonias mismias.* "In every powerful nation the colonial system has had for its object the benefit of the metropolis, *and as far as is compatible with this*, that of the colonies themselves." What equality is there here? Is not this the language of a master to his slave? This is undoubtedly the foundation of all modern systems—a just cause of resistance can therefore never be wanting.

of the colonies unknown in Europe, were all that was wanted of them; they were so restricted in the manufactures and agriculture, as to be compelled to procure from the metropolis, cloths, household furniture, wines, oil, and even some kinds of provisions. In fine, as a general rule, every thing which could be procured in Spain, America was forbidden to cultivate or manufacture.

In order to secure to the Spanish merchant the whole benefit of the American commerce, the Americans were not permitted to own a single ship. The domestic commerce between the different American viceroyalties, which would have tended so much to their mutual comfort and advancement, was in general prohibited, or placed under such discouraging restrictions as to be productive of the same effect. No foreigner could enter the colonies without special license, no vessel of any foreign nation could be received into their harbours, and no one was permitted to trade with them without permission, under the penalty of death. Those portions of South America, such as Venezuela and La Plata, which were not possessed of mines, and depended on commerce entirely for the value of their products, were kept in the lowest state of misery and depression. Until a change in the system took place, they were regarded as the poorest of all the Spanish possessions, although they afterwards came to rank among the most valuable and important; *they are now indeed the strong holds of liberty, and by them in all probability will the independence of South America be achieved.*

It has already been stated, that at first the manufactures of Spain and her European dependences, in some measure sufficed to purchase the gold and silver, the cochineal, indigo, cocoa, Jesuit's bark, sugar, cotton, and dye woods of America. During the reign of Charles V. Spain was one of the most industrious, and there-

fore powerful and prosperous nations of Europe. The Spanish manufactures in wool, flax, silk, and iron, were not surpassed by those of any other nation; and yet so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, these had fallen into decay, so as to be insufficient to supply even the home consumption. This sad reverse has been attributed by able writers to the *sudden influx* of wealth, whose effects were rather to overturn the sober plans of industry, than to afford a natural and friendly stimulus. But the causes before enumerated, the bigotry of Charles II. and his successors, and the short-sighted cupidity of the Spanish commercial monopolists, must be regarded as sufficient to account for the ruin of Spain. From that time her importance in Europe was gradually declining, her population diminished, her agriculture decayed, and her naval and military force sunk into contempt. The trade of the Indies was in reality carried on for the benefit of foreigners; the Spanish merchants lent their names to English, French, or Dutch merchants, who safely relied on Spanish honour. The government had been obliged to relax, and to permit foreign manufactures to form two-thirds of the cargo, provided the other third were Spanish. When we consider the manner in which this trade was carried on, it is not surprising that its profits should be enormously high.

The trade centered in Seville until the year 1720, when it was changed to Cadiz. Every device was resorted to by Spain for the purpose of preventing *the contraband of gold and silver,* without observing that the treasures of the new world were no longer hers, having been already anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. As another precaution for the preservation of this shadow after its substance had fled, the commerce was carried on, not according to the wants

of the colonies, but at stated periods in fleets, so that every thing taken to or brought from the Indies might be perfectly ascertained. These were made exclusively to the gulf of Mexico; and Porto Bello and Vera Cruz were the two points whence all the Spanish Indies were supplied; how imperfectly may be easily conjectured.* Until the contraband came to be perfectly established, the profits of this trade were enormous; seldom less than two or three hundred per cent., particularly as it was one part of the Spanish policy *to supply the colonies sparingly*, in order to enhance the price. But all this only contributed to hasten the establishment of the contraband, which so many writers have explained, first carried on by the Dutch from Curacoa, by the Portuguese from the San Sacramento, by the French from St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, and finally, by the English from Trinidad and Jamaica.

Spain was at last compelled on several occasions to make important deviations from her general policy; the first was the opening of the trade of Peru to the French, during the war of the succession, when it was utterly out of the power of Spain to furnish the necessary supplies. The French pursued a course the very reverse of that of Spain; they furnished the American market abundantly, and at moderate prices. Their merchandise were conveyed to every port of America in greater abundance than had ever been known before; thus creating a taste for European goods, enlarging the amount of their artificial wants, and increasing

* The trade with the Phillipine islands was carried on from Acapulco by means of galleons, which sometimes afforded a rich booty. See Anson's Voyages.

the difficulties of subsequently enforcing the Spanish system. It was not long before Spain discovered her error; she immediately withdrew the privilege thus conceded, and attempted to restore her former system with tenfold rigor.

The other exception alluded to, was the transfer of the Assiento to the British by the treaty of Utrecht, as an inducement to Queen Ann to conclude a peace with Philip V. By this contract, the South Sea Company undertook to supply a certain number of negroes annually to Spanish America, from the year 1713 to 1743. The most important part of the contract was the part of it by which they were privileged to send a vessel of five hundred tons, once a year for the first ten years, laden with European merchandise, to the fair of Porto Bello. They were also permitted to establish factories at Panama, Carthagena, Vera Cruz, and Buenos Ayres. This and other advantages enabled the British to engross nearly the whole trade of South America, while the galleons served for little else than to bring home the royal treasures. The effects of these privileges became so evidently injurious to Spain, that they gave rise to continual bickerings and disputes, which terminated in the war between her and Great Britain in 1739, putting an end to the Assiento trade.

Spain having the trade once more in her own hands, endeavoured to remedy the defects of the ancient system, by granting licenses to vessels, which were called register ships, so as to provide a more regular supply during the interval of the galleons and flotilla. For this permission, the council of the Indies exacted a very high premium. It had the effect of lessening the extraordinary profits of the interloper, although it by no means put a stop to the contraband. But as an exten-

sion of the regular trade it had a beneficial effect on the Spanish colonies. The advantages which also resulted to the crown by the augmentation of its revenues, was such as to occasion the galleons and flotilla to be entirely laid aside.

Another very important change took place in the year 1764, in the establishment of packet-boats to run every month to the Havanna, Porto Rico, and La Plata, with permission also to carry out a half cargo of goods for those different American markets. Heretofore Spain had always been the last to receive information from her colonies; and this generally through those nations who were engaged in the contraband, and who contrived to be regularly informed of the state of the American markets.

A step of much greater magnitude towards the disenthralment of the American commerce, was taken in the year following. The trade was laid open to all the provinces of Spain to the windward islands. In the year 1774, another innovation took place in the system which regulated the mutual intercourse of the colonies; the injudicious interdiction which had before existed was removed. These rapid ameliorations, finally, under the administration of Galves, led the way to what has been called the *decree of free trade*, which was passed in the year 1778. By this decree, seven of the principal Spanish ports were freely permitted to engage in trade with Buenos Ayres and the ports of the South Sea. These measures had an instantaneous and wonderful effect on the prosperity of South America. When we consider the commercial policy with which Spain sat out, this may be regarded as a vast revolution, though the work of ages; and yet there was still much wanting to attain the same point with the English and French. In spite of

all these alleviations, the system was in itself still wretched; the restrictions remaining were so numerous, the laws in their details were still so unfavourable to trade, that a mass of evils continued unredressed. The duties in general, amounted to an average of thirty per cent., and the regulations of the custom house were exceedingly vexatious. In general, the interloper was said to have an advantage over the regular trader, of nearly sixty per cent. Smuggling was therefore by no means lessened.* The trade of South America being in fact virtually in other hands, and the Spanish commerce merely an agent to carry it on, the only indemnification was the establishment of considerable duties on merchandise, which were multiplied with every new destination. During the last war between Spain and Great Britain, licenses were frequently granted to neutral merchants, to supply the wants of South America, but these were not always treated with good faith. Much of the trade was even carried on by her enemy, through the means of a curious kind of special connivance, the subject of considerable complaint on the part of France. The United States during that war, shared the contraband with the English, and from our situation, great advantages will always exist in our favour under similar circumstances.

With respect to the internal trade between the different viceroyalties and provinces, it was never very considerable; but in course of time it must be immense, considering the vast variety of climates and productions of the world. The tobacco and cocoa of

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* "To load commerce with such enormous duties, is the same thing as to deprive Spain of it, and to open it to all other nations." Campillo, 172.

Venezula, is transported to Vera Cruz; Paraguay supplies Chili and Peru with its celebrated herb; Chili furnishes wheat to Peru, while the trade of La Plata consists in animals, and some kinds of coarse cotton manufactures much in use with the Indians, savage and half civilized. The monopolies of the king, in salt, tobacco, and other articles of colonial production, cause them to be neglected for the present. The foreign commerce of South America, exclusive of the Brazil, is estimated by Torres, at *one hundred millions of dollars*; and as in every prosperous independent country, this forms but a small proportion of the whole, the internal trade will in time surpass that of any country on the globe.

The view of Spanish America which I have given in this *Introduction*, may serve in some measure, in solving the question that so naturally presents itself, how Spain has been enabled to establish and maintain this wonderful empire, and why the South Americans have been apparently so tardy and unsuccessful in the accomplishment of their liberties?

Something is to be attributed to the situation of the first settlers and conquerors, who stood in need of the countenance of some European nation; because they themselves held millions of men in a state of subjection. They had not ceased to be Spaniards; though removed from Spain, they carried with them Spanish opinions, customs, and prejudices. They willingly submitted to a yoke, which their descendants have found so galling, and who, in the course of time, having forgotten the parent state, in many respects became identified in feeling with the Aborigines of America. The dominion of Spain therefore rested partly on the high notions of loyalty transmitted by the first conquerors, but still more on the influence of a priest-

hood, under the immediate controul of the sovereign. Partly also, on the apathy prevailing in the mass of the population; on the ease and indolence of the inhabitants of the new world, to which their situation invited; and on the uninterrupted calm of ages, by which the human mind came to be deprived of its energy. One part of America could be turned against another; and from the vast extent of the Spanish possessions, and their separation by almost impassable boundaries, there was little likelihood of their making a common cause. Perhaps the most powerful auxiliary was, the great number of European Spaniards, independently of those in office, distributed throughout the Indies. Another cause may be mentioned, which is, that they required the protection of Spain from foreign aggression; but they did not see that they were exposed to this, chiefly on account of their connexion with her, that whenever they have been molested, it has been on account of quarrels between Spain and some European power.

It is most truly observed by Mr. Rodney, "that this state of things would long have continued but for events in this country and changes in Europe." The failure of the revolution in Caraccas in 1797, proves that the great body of the people were not then prepared for independence. They required the powerful excitement of some event, whose shock would produce an effect similar to that of galvanism to the apparently dead, in order to awaken in them political life; or, as they express it themselves, *to cause a regeneration.* Such a one was presented in the captivity of Ferdinand, and the acts of that singular political drama, when the Spanish monarchy seemed to be threatened with dissolution. It was now seen, that there was no want of susceptibility, and that all that was requisite

in the first instance, was some event of transcendant interest. Their enthusiasm even exceeded that of the Spaniards of Europe; one would have thought that the legions of Napoleon had planted their standards on their shores. They assembled—they spoke—they thought and acted. Loyalty gave the impulse, and they flew to arms; but this loyalty was not pleasing to the Europeans, who were alarmed at this sudden transition from the calm of despotism, *to the most terrific energy*. Not so with the enlightened native Americans, in whose breasts the desire of independence, had long burned, and who conceived new hopes, from the political regeneration of their countrymen. All that was now wanting, was to give a direction to the torrent which had begun to flow; this was the work of genius and intelligence, aided by circumstances which carried with them the justification of necessity. To the cry of long live our King Ferdinand, it was not long before that of *viva la patria* succeeded; and South America became the theatre of one of the most bloody civil wars recorded in history. In some places it has been thought necessary by the Spaniards to put to death all the intelligent and intrepid, so that the revolution may have no leaders; in others, shocking to relate, the only remaining hope of regaining these countries, *is by indiscriminate extermination of the inhabitants*. Can any mind, human or divine, wish success to such a cause?

A

VOYAGE

TO

SOUTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Norfolk to Rio Janeiro—Description of Rio—Coronation—General description of Brazil.

THE civil war which continues to rage between Spain and the different provinces of South America, had long attracted the attention of the people of the United States. Whatever our wishes might be, it became us to maintain a perfect neutrality between the contending parties. The ability manifested by the South Americans to maintain the contest, the important successes obtained by them, the declining state of the Spanish resources, and the probable termination of the contest, in the independence of South America, rendered it necessary that preparations should be made for the establishment of peace and amity with the new states, in case their struggle should be ultimately crowned with success. This and other motives, induced the president to send a friendly mission to the different governments of South America, to give them assurances of our determina-

tion to maintain a perfect neutrality in the contest, considering them as engaged in a civil war with the king of Spain, and therefore on a footing of equality as to neutral rights. With a view also of ascertaining the kind of relations it might be proper hereafter to establish with the South American states, or for the purpose of regulating our present intercourse, it was desirable to obtain the best information as to their character and resources. The objects of the mission are thus stated by the president, in his message to Congress: "To obtain correct information on every subject, in which the United States are interested; to inspire just sentiments in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition, so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instructions to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of, and exercising the sovereignty, must the communication be held; from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them be obtained; by them alone can the commission of the like, in future, be prevented."

The mission was composed of the following gentlemen, Cæsar A. Rodney, John Graham, and Theodorick Bland, commissioners, and H. M. Brackenridge, secretary. William T. Reed, and Thomas Rodney, (son of the commissioner,) accompanied the mission. The commissioners arrived at Norfolk in the steamboat, on the 28th of November, 1817, where the frigate Congress, commanded by commodore Arthur Sinclair, who had been selected for this purpose, was ready

to receive them on board. Owing to some delay in transmitting the orders for sailing, the mission did not embark until the third of December. In the mean time, we were treated with every mark of attention and civility by the people of Norfolk, who do not yield to the rest of Virginia in that elegant hospitality for which the state is justly celebrated. The difference in the climate between this place and Baltimore is very sensible. We had just escaped the skirts of winter; the warmth of the sun, the softness of the air, and the appearance of vegetation, seemed to carry us back to the middle of autumn—that season, which may be styled the *glory of the American skies.*

On the 4th, the Congress weighed anchor and put to sea. Commodore Sinclair had taken pains to render our accommodations as comfortable as possible for a long and tedious voyage. It is very certain, that the voyage could not be made under more agreeable circumstances; in a noble frigate, manned by an excellent crew, and commanded by officers of experience and skill. There were several lieutenants, and a number of midshipmen on board, beyond the usual complement; the voyage being considered an interesting one, it was a desirable object among the naval gentlemen to engage in it. To me, the little world to which I found myself transferred, continually presented a thousand objects to instruct and amuse. The order and cleanliness which prevailed in every part of the vessel, excited my admiration; every thing seemed to move like clock work, and although there were four hundred souls on board, we appeared to be no way crowded or encumbered. Every pains were taken by the commander, to preserve the health of his crew; in having to cross both tropics and the equinoctial line, no precautions could be thought superfluous. There

was but one circumstance calculated in any way to lessen the satisfaction felt by every one at the auspicious commencement of the voyage; the term of enlistment of the greater part of the crew, would probably expire before the voyage could be completed; the consequence to be feared would be at the least, a discontent and a want of inclination to the performance of their duty. The commodore, aware of difficulties which had arisen under under similar circumstances, mustered all hands on the evening previous to our sailing; gave them a short address; in which he told them, that the cruise they were about to make, would be in a mild and delightful climate, where they would escape the northern winter; that their return might possibly be delayed a few months longer than their term of service, but that this would be more than compensated by the agreeableness of the cruise; that they would be no losers even if they were disposed to enter into the merchant service, as seamen's wages were at this time extremely low; he concluded by promising them every reasonable indulgence at the places at which he should touch. The address was received with three cheers, and each one seemed to repair to his duty with alacrity.

We steered from the capes on an east half south course with a leading wind, the weather cold and unpleasant. The entrance into the gulf stream, is easily ascertained by the difference of temperature between the air and water. On soundings about fifty-five miles east of Cape Henry, the air was forty degress of Farenheit, while the water was fifty-nine degress. The air soon afterwards rose to forty-three, and the water suddenly to sixty-eight. The air then continued to vary from forty to forty-five, and the water from seventy-two to seventy-five until we had run upon the same course, the wind at north west, eighty-seven miles; when the

water fell to seventy-one and continued between that and sixty-eight, until the air rose to the same temperature. "Thus," says commodore Sinclair, "I computed the distance of the gulf stream east from Cape Henry, to be about one hundred and twenty miles, and the body of it in the same direction about ninety miles across, but in steering east there is no doubt that the influence of the stream is felt for several hundred miles; as from Cape Hatteras, where the gulf alters its north east to an easterly direction, to the latitude of Cape Henry, it inclines as much off as east north east, and expands its width as it loses its strength." During winter there are continual vapors, arising from the troubled waters of the gulf stream; the atmosphere appears dark and heavy, and the sea looks wild and frightful. The effect of this immense river of warm water flowing directly in front of our continent, must necessarily be very great on the American climate. May not this be one of the causes of those sudden changes in the temperature of which we hear so many complaints?

Nothing material occurred until the 17th, when about latitude twenty-nine degrees thirty minutes, a severe gale set in, which lasted forty-eight hours. Storms have been described by so many writers, and so much better than I can describe this one, that I think it unnecessary to say any thing further than that the descriptions are much more agreeable than the reality. The spectacle was indeed sublime, but it is probable I should have enjoyed it more, if there had been less of the terrific. The ship was stripped of her sails, excepting her main-top sail, which was close reefed, and her storm stay sail; her top gallant masts, and her principal yards were lowered, her jibboom rigged in, and a variety of other precautions were taken, such as housing the guns and carrying the shot below. The ship was then laid to, and

rode out the storm with ease and safety. During this unpleasant time I did not venture on deck, for such was the violence of the wind and the motion of the ship, that it was almost impossible to stand up: even the sailors required the help of ropes stretched along on each side of the ship. The rapidity and order with which every thing was conducted during this time was admirable; there was no noise or bustle among them. Excepting, now and then the shrill whistle of the boatswain, nothing was heard but the rushing of the furious element through the shrouds, and the tumbling and roaring of the sea around us. The appearance of the sun and the gradual subsiding of the tempest was a reason of joy to me; but the hardy mariners, accustomed to all weathers, scarcely considered it a circumstance of sufficient importance to produce any alteration in their feelings.

The wind continued baffling, with occasional squalls and a great deal of rain; and as it continued to hang to the east and north east, we were delayed in getting our easting until about the 27th. In the latitude of twenty-four degrees north, and longitude thirty-three degrees thirty minutes west, we took a fresh trade from the east. We now fell into the track of vessels bound from Europe to the West Indies. Several of these vessels were spoken by us; one of them had been sixty-three days from Bremen and was bound to Havanna. The extraordinary length of this passage, is to be attributed to the excessive caution of Dutch navigators, who lay to on the slightest occasion, and always carry but little sail. The Americans are probably the boldest navigators in the world, and yet are universally admitted to be the most fortunate. A timid precaution in avoiding every visible danger, very often exposes us to still greater dangers which we do not foresee.

On the 2d of January, we found ourselves by the chronometer within sixty miles of the island of Brava, one of the Cape de Verds. An indication still more certain, was the great number of birds flying about us, principally the species called the man of war bird, which is rarely seen at greater distance than a degree from land. For an account of these islands I must refer the reader to Macartney's Embassy to China. To many persons it is not known why vessels bound to parts of South America beyond the equator, should thus be compelled to stretch over to the coast of Africa, although the subject is very familiar to navigators. On casting the eye upon the map it will be seen that Cape St. Roque, the most eastern point of South America, projects into the Atlantic as far east as thirty-three or thirty-four degrees west longitude, and thus forms in fact the entrance of a vast gulf, of which that of Mexico is properly nothing more than the bottom, or recess. A powerful north-west current constantly sets into this recess, with which, as well as with the south-east trade winds, vessels must contend in attempting to double the cape too near the American continent. Vessels happening to be driven too far to the westward, must try to regain the point where they lost the variable winds, so as to enable them to make their easting. Dreadful shipwrecks have been known in consequence of crossing the line too far to the west, and being thus driven on the coast. Here is a great drawback on the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, with those parts of South America which lie to the windward, especially beyond Cape St. Roque. Navigators do not agree, however, as to the exact point at which the equator should be crossed; for a too near approach to the African coast is equally to be avoided. Instead of the trade winds which constantly refresh the

shores of the American continent, the opposite coast of Africa, is the region of calms more dreadful than tempests or hurricane. From ten degrees north to the line, and between thirteen and twenty-three degrees west longitude, there is a region of endless calm, but not such as we fancy to ourselves from the meaning of the word; it is a succession of thunder storms, heavy rains and whirlwinds, with dreadful intermission of close and suffocating heat. To find a middle course is the aim of navigators. Much has been said and written as to the best mode of avoiding this scylla and charybdis, but it is pretty generally agreed, that it should be crossed between the twenty-seventh and twenty-third degrees of longitude. Commodore Sinclair resolved to take the mean between these two extremes.*

We did not gain the regular north-east trade winds until after passing the islands before mentioned, and we had a great run until we reached the seventh degree of north latitude, when they gradually left us. From the 31st of December until the 5th of January, we made upwards of nine hundred miles; after this a most distressing calm set in, which continued until the 17th of the month. In the mean time, we were drifted by an easterly current nearly two hundred miles; that is, from about twenty-three to nineteen degrees west. This was one of the most disagreeable periods of my life. It appeared as if we had been condemned to perish in this dismal region: a black sea around us, and above us a

* Commodore Porter in his cruise crossed the equator in twenty-eight degrees forty-five minutes, without experiencing any calm. His object, however, was to fall into the track of vessels bound to Europe; it is therefore probable that if his intention had been to proceed directly south, he would not have passed so near the American continent. In the journal of this intrepid and skilful navigator, there are many interesting remarks on this subject.

gloomy sky; dark shapeless clouds continually gathering as if to contend with the sun, whose fierce vertical rays, occasionally bursting forth, seemed almost to burn.

The arch of the horizon was diminished in a most surprising manner, as if presaging a dreadful storm. The decks were kept wet and continually covered with awning. An expression of despondency was seen in the countenances of all, while the vessel was rolling about on the heavy sullen waves. We were continually watching every quarter of the compass, and endeavouring to catch once more a glimpse of hope from every breath of air, scarcely sufficient to cause the sails to flap against the masts. I called to recollection the celebrated description of a calm at sea by Marmontel.*

We were at length favoured with occasional light winds, which drifted rather than wafted us towards the equator. Commodore Sinclair observes, "Had I been aware of circumstances which occurred, and which were beyond human wisdom to foresee, I am under a belief that I could have shortened my passage fifteen or twenty days. I was in the first instance straining every nerve to gain easting before leaving the variables, which had been found so difficult to effect in the trade winds. I was driven in longitude forty-three degrees west, as far south as latitude twenty-nine degrees north, when fearing to enter the trades with so little easting, I tacked and stood north with the wind heavy from east north-east, and after getting as far north again as latitude thirty-four, I got a heavy gale of wind from north-east, which blew so strong for about forty-eight hours, I could

* *Consterné et glacés d'effroi ils demandent au ciel des orages et des tempete.* "Struck with consternation, they pray to heaven for storms and tempests." *Incas of Peru.*

not venture to avail myself of it in steering to the south-east, but was forced to lay to; whereas, had I been aware of the south-west winds between the trades, which with a strong easterly current, between latitudes four degrees and thirty minutes and one degree thirty minutes north—longitudes twenty-three and nineteen degrees west, which set from two and a half knots the hour to three-quarters of a knot, and from east by north to east south-east, until it drifted us as much as two hundred miles to the eastward, (by our chronometer) I might have ventured to have entered the trades in longitude forty-three degrees—and saved all the beating I afterwards had, to gain what I thought a prudent longitude to venture out of the variables. I was under the impression that I ought to lose the north-east trade at least as high as twenty-two or twenty-three degrees west, as from all writers on this subject, you will find that from latitude five degrees north, you got the wind from about south, which gradually as you approach the line, draws to south south-east, and after crossing it to south-east which would force you down to about twenty-seven degrees before you could gain the line, from which point even it is not uncommon for dull sailing ships to fall in with the Brazil coast too far to the north."

When nearly under the line we were once more blessed with clear skies, and a fine breeze drawing gradually round to the south south-east, while pleasure and cheerfulness again lighted up the countenances of every one. The temperature of the air was delightfully refreshing, and when contrasted with the dismal regions we had escaped, it is impossible to describe our satisfaction at the change. We crossed the line in longitude twenty degrees twenty minutes, the breeze continuing to freshen every hour. According to im-

memorial custom, the usual ceremonies were performed on this important occasion, and were productive of much innocent mirth and gaiety, but an account of particulars would probably afford no entertainment to the reader, as they varied but little from those which have been so repeatedly detailed by voyagers. We had thus far enjoyed excellent health, even the unpleasant calm we had experienced occasioned no sickness among the crew, owing in a great measure to the cleanliness on board American ships, and the precautions so carefully taken.

Being now fairly in the trades, our course was hardly interrupted for a moment; we had a steady breeze filling all our sails, and a smooth sea. Nothing could be more agreeable than the temperature of the air; the sails required little or no attention, but there was no want of employment in this little busy world. I could not have imagined such a variety of occupations as the seamen were continually engaged in. The officers not on duty, spent their time in reading and study, while the midshipmen, fifteen or twenty in number, were kept closely to their books. There was no lounging, no idleness, no silly gossipping, no loud talking; and as to intemperance, this is regarded, on board an American man of war, as a vice for which there is no forgiveness. The north star gradually disappeared, and its place was imperfectly supplied by the constellation of the cross, and the Magellanic clouds. The constellations of the southern hemisphere are thought by some to be more brilliant than those of the northern; the sight of so many new stars which I had never expected to behold, and the disappearance of the greater part of those I had gazed on from infancy, naturally inspired a variety of strange sensations. The brilliant phosphoric light which marked at night the track of the ship, resembling that

of the comet, very frequently amused us, and caused our wonder when we reflected that it was produced by myriads of small insects possessing the properties of the glow worm, or fire fly. The flying fish was occasionally seen darting through the air for a few hundred yards, and then plunging again into a more congenial element. They often fall on board merchant vessels, but the height of the frigate above the water, prevented them from passing over us. In latitude nine degrees south, we ran over a turtle of prodigious size, which appeared to have been lying asleep on the surface of the water; the nearest land was the island of Fernando de Noronha, distant at least four hundred miles.

As we drew up with the coast of Brazil, the lead was kept continually going. On the 26th, we passed over a bed of coral rock, much farther out than is laid down by any chart, and kept soundings in thirty-five fathoms for five or six leagues, steering south-west, and suddenly fell off into very deep water. This spot was determined to be in south latitude twenty degrees thirty minutes, and in longitude thirty-seven degrees thirty minutes, by a very good chronometer.

The hope of soon approaching land awakened a new interest in our breasts. Even the hardy sons of the ocean seemed to be cheered with the prospect; much greater therefore must have been the gratification of more landsmen. By our observations and reckoning, we expected by twelve o'clock on the 27th to make Cape Frio, a headland of great celebrity with mariners. During the greater part of the forenoon all were anxiously looking out for it, and about one it was descried by the man stationed at the mast-head; but it was not until two or three that it could be seen from deck; and even then for some time only by those who were accustomed to

distinguish the loom of the land from the low clouds which skirt the horizon. We found our reckoning within eighteen miles of being correct, having been set somewhat to the southward by a current, which usually sets with the wind along the coast. By observation we were in twenty-three degrees nine minutes south, and by chronometer in forty-one west. Cape Frio was seen at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles; its appearance is so remarkable and so easily recognized from the description of navigators, that it is impossible to mistake it. It seemed to be a high promontory, its summit presenting a waving line, with places somewhat conical; and when first seen it has the appearance of two separate islands, from a hollow in the middle. The clouds rested on its summit. It appeared to be an immense naked rock, incapable of affording sustenance to any living thing, and yet I felt a kind of pleasure in contemplating this huge inhospitable mass, being weary of seeing nothing for nearly sixty days but the sky and water.

Having ascertained where we were, the commodore gave orders to stand along down the land, under easy sail. It was somewhat squally during the night, as is usual in the neighbourhood of those headlands. Before day it fell calm, when we descried the sugar loaf, the entrance of the harbour of Rio Janeiro, bearing west south-west, at the distance of twenty miles; by which it appeared, that we had been set twenty-one miles to the westward by the current. There appeared before us an irregular line of high rocky coast, and a person not accustomed to measure distances by the eye, would have thought himself not more than a few miles off, and the rocks, instead of mountains, to be little more than a hundred feet high. The sugar loaf, a leaning cone, looked like a watch tower at the termina-

tion of a high irregular rampart; it forms the western portal of the entrance of the harbour, towards which it leans as if frowning on those who approach. Immediately on the opposite side, there is the same kind of rock though not quite so high, but more broken and irregular. A light breeze springing up from the land, we worked in towards the shore, and as we approached discovered high mountains in the back ground, whose tops rose above the region of the clouds. Every object of nature is here on the boldest and most magnificent scale. In the evening we came to anchor within a few miles of the forts which command the entrance to the harbour, and Lieutenant Clack was despatched by the commodore, to wait on the commander of the fort and to obtain a pilot. The number of vessels continually entering and leaving the harbour, gave us a high opinion of the commercial importance of the city we were about to visit. The anchorage is excellent every where along the coast. Before the entrance there are a number of small islands from two to six miles out, of various sizes and appearances. They seem to be small detached knobs or hills, gradually sloping on every side to the water's edge, with a thick covering of shrubs and vines, and their summits crowned with palm trees. They are uninhabited, although some of them are several miles in circumference. The largest vessel may sail with perfect safety between them, as the water is, with scarcely an exception, bold and deep.

Early next morning the pilot having come on board, more for the sake of complying with every necessary precaution than because his services were necessary, we passed into the spacious harbour of Rio. The entrance is about a mile wide, and probably the safest and easiest in the world. We passed on the right, fort Santa Cruz built upon a shelf of the rock, with

several tier of guns and most formidable in its appearance. Strong works are also erected on the steep rock behind it, from which it is separated by a singular cleft crossed by a draw-bridge. On the left under the sugar loaf there is another fort, but comparatively of not much consequence; as the best channel lies pretty close to Santa Cruz, vessels generally pass directly under its guns. We passed another small fort just within the harbour. The place is said to be very strongly fortified; it certainly possesses extraordinary natural facilities for this purpose. It was forced about the beginning of the last century by the celebrated French mariner, Dugai Trouin, who took possession of the city, and laid it under contribution; but its fortifications were in consequence greatly improved.

As we entered the harbour, a most magnificent scene opened upon us. The noble basin, scarcely surpassed by any in the world, resembling a large lake rather than a harbour, expanded majestically, bordered by high woody mountains, interspersed with rocky peaks and precipices; their ridges or spurs sloping down to the water's edge, in some places terminating abruptly, in others leaving narrow vallies and a thousand beautiful coves or recesses, with sandy beaches. The ridges, or broken grounds, below the mountains, are covered with convents, churches, and beautiful gardens, while the little indents or sandy bays are occupied by elegant country seats; a great many of them constructed by Portuguese noblemen, since the establishment of the court at this place, or by English merchants who have grown rich since the opening of trade. A range of much higher mountains is seen to the north-east, probably at least forty or fifty miles distant. The city of Rio Janeiro or St. Sebastian, is

built in one of the coves just mentioned, under the mountain, the houses much crowded together; and independently of the buildings perched on heights, or raised on the neighbouring vallies, it would not possess a very imposing appearance: but the quantity of shipping gave proofs of a busy and active commerce.

The ship was scarcely moored in front of the city, when an officer dressed in rich uniform came on board; and had no sooner set his foot on deck, than he became as familiar as if he had been acquainted with us for twenty years. He spoke very good English, and strutted about, repeating the expression, "d——d fine ship, sir—very fine ship indeed." He went below with very little ceremony, and required no pressing to refresh himself with a glass of wine. This lively fellow, after cracking his jokes, took the liberty of putting a few queries to the commodore, such as the name of the ship, the length of her voyage, her destination, and her object in touching at this port. Suitable answers having been given to these, he took his departure, expressing great admiration of what he had seen. We learned from him that the Ontario, Captain Biddle, had sailed from this place about a month before our arrival. A few days afterwards, I saw this important personage sitting very soberly in a room in front of the palace, where he is employed I understand as a kind of messenger, or in some office to which we have nothing analogous in our country. According to previous arrangement salutes were fired, first twenty-one guns for the king, which were returned by one of the forts, and afterwards fifteen guns for the admiral, which he returned from his ship, a seventy-four, lying between us and the shore, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. The Portuguese appear to be extremely

fond of expending their powder; hardly an hour of the day passed without the sound of cannon in some direction or other.

We were soon after waited on by the commander and several officers from an Austrian frigate, which had brought out the Princess Leopoldina to espouse the heir of the Brazilian throne. These officers spoke French, and appeared to be extremely desirous of examining our vessel. The admiration with which they saw every thing, could not but be highly gratifying to our pride of country. The Congress is perhaps one of the finest vessels of her class in the world; she was at this time in excellent order, her crew in fine health, and dressed in clean white shirts and trowsers; so that she appeared to great advantage. We were afterwards visited by Captain Hickey of the Blossom; a frank, lively sailor, with whom we were all much pleased; and a few days after our arrival by Captain Shireff of the Andromache, a much younger man, of a more showy exterior, and as we suspected better supported by court favour at home, as he was the superior officer of the two, although but a midshipman when Hickey was a captain. They were both, however, officers of liberal and gentlemanly deportment, and manifested a wish to cultivate a good understanding with us, by the exchange of civilities and friendly offices. They invited the commodore and the commissioners to dine with them, and were invited in turn. The truth is, that a similarity of manners, and identity of language, are the best foundations of social intercourse, while the laws of good breeding forbid the bringing to recollection circumstances unpleasant to the feelings of the parties. We could easily see one thing, that secretly nourished our pride, which was the homage universally rendered to our superior excellence in nautical concerns. This

could not be concealed; we could see it in every look and action of our proud cousins of the family of John Bull; and as to the Portuguese and others, they pretended no competition. Never was national pride more fully gratified than ours, at the noble and distinguished figure made in a foreign distant port, by this admirable representative of our national sovereignty.

I felt impatient to set my foot once more on the fixed and stedfast earth, as well as some curiosity to behold this great city, now the capital of the Portuguese empire.* In the afternoon a boat put off for the shore, and some of us took advantage of this opportunity. Our ship lay about half a mile off, and we had to pass the vessels of war, of which the Portuguese have a number of various sizes, but not in the best order, and badly manned. The merchant vessels lie higher up towards the fortified island, *das Cobras*, on the other side of which is the inner harbour, at present filled with shipping. We discovered several American flags, and from the feelings which they excited in us, I could almost be tempted to say, that *we are the most national people in existence.* The circumstance of our being a solitary republic, and therefore a continual tacit censure on monarchy, perhaps induces us to believe, that kings can have no cordial feeling towards us, and for this reason we cling more closely together. It would be useless to conceal the truth; every American who goes abroad, has a contempt for royalty and its attendants, and he is only restrained by prudence or good manners from expressing it.

* Rio Janeiro became the capital of Brazil in the year 1763, Bahia, or San Salvador, being then stripped of that honour.

The harbour of New York alone, can bear any comparison to this place, in indications of commercial prosperity. A noble spectacle is exhibited by the number of vessels, a great proportion English, lying at the wharfs, or anchored in the stream. Great numbers of small boats were continually moving about, rigged in a very awkward, clumsy manner, or rowed with a slow and solemn stroke, as if to the tune of *the dead march* in Saul. Among the watermen, a number were Indians; they wore very broad straw hats, like the Malays, but their physiognomy bore a strong resemblance to the Aborigines of our country. On approaching the queen's stairs, the usual landing place, we passed a yacht superbly gilt, rigged like a sloop of war, and armed with brass swivels. This childish miniature is kept for the use of the queen, or rather for the sake of pageantry, for I could not learn that it is ever used. Another object excited our disgust; some distance to the left of the stairs, the quay terminates in a prodigious dung heap, the accumulation of ages from the stables of the city. Possibly, from the extreme fertility of the soil, manure is not required, but one would think that a regard to the police of the city, would require a different disposition to be made of this offensive mass.

A motley collection of people, attracted by curiosity, were lounging about the quay, their looks directed towards the American frigate, as the principal object of their curiosity. I shall not attempt to describe their dress or looks; nothing could be more unlike our countrymen. The English or French fashions do not appear to predominate. Among these people I felt myself indeed a stranger; their countenances made a very unfavourable impression on me, though by no means disposed to judge hastily, for I have been too often

taught by experience, the danger of condemning people by wholesale, merely on account of their looks. The complexions of the middle and lower classes, are generally dark, their features coarse, and their persons in general inclining to corpulency. A number of them were distinguished by ribbons and baubles attached to their button holes, many wore enormous ill-contrived cocked hats, and all appeared desirous to distinguish their persons, by the wearing of some badge or uniform. There was no smile of welcome to us in their countenances, but rather repulsive half scowling glances. A number of them were priests, dressed in loose gowns, and wearing hats as broad as parasols. In front of the palace there is a large open square, at the lower end of which is the king's chapel; on the right, there is an immense unfinished pile, intended as a monastery, but on the arrival of the king, a stop was put to any further work on it, as he seemed to think, that monks and nuns formed already a sufficient proportion of his subjects. In front of the palace there was a body of infantry constantly on duty, but their arms, with the exception of those who stood centry, generally stacked; but ever and anon the drum beats, and they fall in. Towards the lower end of the palace, a similar duty is performed by a troop of cavalry, but composed of young men of distinction, as I presumed, from the richness of their uniform and general appearance; they were almost the only good looking men I saw at Rio, and several of them were uncommonly handsome. Below the landing there is a fountain of fresh water, conveyed hither for the aqueduct, which is constantly surrounded by a crowd of noisy negroes waiting for their turn. I saw about twenty of these miserable wretches chained together by the neck, and each one carrying a bucket

of water on his head: they relieved the bodily pain or suffering, by a kind of harsh noise, not unlike that made by a flock of wild geese. I saw others hitched to carts or carrying burthens, and all screaming in the same style, producing a general effect, of which I can convey no idea.

A part of the square is taken up with some temporary works, preparatory to the coronation or *acclamaçao*, which we understood was to take place in a few days; the ceremony, it is said, has been thus long delayed, principally on account of the expense. Rows of columns formed of boards, covered with canvas, painted to resemble marble, an obelisk, triumphal arches of the same, and a Grecian temple, supported on pillars of the like durable materials, were the most conspicuous among the preparations for the important event. These fine things were already going to decay, although it is probably not more than a few weeks since they were set up: I saw a part of a splendid entablature literally in rags.

Two American gentlemen who had been at this place some time, in the most friendly manner offered to become our guides. They first conducted us to a kind of boarding house, where, together with some other foreigners, they had procured lodgings; for there is no respectable inn or coffee house in the city. I can scarcely imagine how they contrive to dispense with what in our cities appear so necessary. After reposing ourselves here for a short time, we proceeded to reconnoitre the place. Our walk was extremely unpleasant, through narrow and dirty streets, without side walks. The houses in general have a mean appearance, with projecting galleries on the second story, which approach so near, that two persons might almost shake hands across the street; probably the ancient Moorish taste.

On account of the great number of old fashioned chaises, principally drawn by mules, which dashed along without paying much attention to any one, we were constantly exposed to the danger of being run over. Great numbers rode also on stud horses of a small size, whose tails swept the ground; but a still greater number of both sexes, were carried about in a kind of sedan chair of a curious construction, and generally ornamented with gilding. The curtains were sometimes drawn aside for the purpose of peeping out. The men who were thus carried along, were generally priests and nobles, as I judged by their costume and decorations; for it is not the practice in this country, to lay aside any insignia of distinction, to be used only on days of ceremony or parade. Nothing surprised me more, than the number of persons I saw in the street with decorations of one kind or other; I could not but think, that in becoming so common, and being so frequently exhibited, they must cease to impart dignity or importance to the wearers. Contrasted with the habits and opinions of our country, where man is *by nature* a noble and dignified being, this idle and silly display produced in my mind the very reverse of respect.

The town seemed to be crowded with inhabitants of every colour and hue, but the proportion of those, who with us would be called white, was by far the least considerable. The Portuguese are generally of a very dark complexion, but the number of negroes and of the mixed race was such, as to give a different cast in the general appearance of the population, from that of any town I have ever seen. We were frequently met by pairs of lazy lounging soldiers, who, it seems, are constantly walking in the streets with their bayonets, for the purpose of preventing disturbance; their insolent deportment to the lower classes of people, gave

the most certain indications of a despotic government. Where the common soldier thinks himself above the mechanic or artizan, and the officer occupies a rank distinct from, and above the people, civil liberty is scarcely more than a name. In the new part of the city the houses are better constructed, but the best have but an indifferent appearance when compared to those in our cities; they seem also to be constructed on a plan calculated to insure a jealous seclusion from every human eye. We visited the public gardens so particularly described in Macartney's Embassy; but whether it was owing to the season, this being the period of frequent rains, or whether attributable to neglect, we found them in a very different state from that which we had been led to expect. We saw but few people in them, and these not of the most prepossessing appearance. In the shrubs and trees of the garden, I saw but little to attract my attention, except the coffee plant which grows here in great perfection, and which was at this time loaded with berries. As to much of what I had seen thus far, I found that my residence in New Orleans, had made me acquainted with many objects which a citizen of our middle or northern states, who has never been abroad, would contemplate with wonder. On our return towards the quay, we stepped into the king's chapel, where we were told mass had just been said for the Princess Charlotte of England; the news of whose death had reached Rio some time before our arrival. There was a great profusion of ornaments and gilding through the chapel, and behind the altar a picture of the royal family, no way remarkable for design or execution. The priest who had been officiating, a man of gigantic stature, and exhibiting strong indications of good feeding, brushed hastily past us towards the door, with long strides, in order to take a look at our frigate,

which was then firing a salute; he was careful however, although in great haste, and his mind occupied with the idea of powder and smoke, to bow his knee before a crucifix which he had to pass.

The day after our arrival, we went by invitation of our minister, Mr. Sumpter, to dine at his house, situated in the direction of the Sugar Loaf, and at the distance of about three miles from our anchorage. We were rowed in the barge into a beautiful little sandy bay of a circular form, with a clear, smooth, regular beach, and bordered by very handsome country retreats, all built since the arrival of the king, since which time, improvements of every kind are said to have advanced with prodigious rapidity. There is here a small level plain at the foot of the mountains, and similar to those of which I have spoken as being very numerous around this magnificent harbour, which in following its indents, is said to be nearly one hundred miles in circumference. We were received by Mr. Sumpter with the pleasure which is natural to suppose would be felt by him, on meeting his countrymen at so great a distance from the United States, while the satisfaction on our part was scarcely less. Mrs. Sumpter, we were informed, had retired to an elevated part of the mountain some twelve miles off, on account of a sick child, in order to try the effect of the fresher and purer air of the more elevated region. The honours of the house were very gracefully performed by the daughter of the minister, a young lady of sixteen or seventeen years of age. Mr. Sumpter has a numerous and amiable family, who all speak the Portuguese, and the younger hardly any other. He has been six or seven years at this court, and is extremely anxious to return home. He speaks highly of the climate, and of the vast resources of the country;

thinks well of the king, but expresses great dislike to the state of society, as well as disapprobation of the thousand vexations and abuses practised on the people in the name of government. He said, that there was a sincere wish on the part of the king, to cultivate a good understanding and friendship with the people of the United States, and in this he was much more liberal than his courtiers. On the subject of the insurrectional movements, he seemed to think, that the spirit of revolt was by no means extensive through Brazil, and he gave no credit to the assertions, that similar designs to those of Pernambuco, had been formed at St. Salvador and Rio. On the subject of the mission, probably mistaking its objects, he thought it *premature*. He professed to be well acquainted with the state of things at Buenos Ayres, and expressed a very unfavourable opinion of the kind of spirit by which they were generally actuated. He appeared to think, that selfish rivalry and false ambition, actuated a greater part of those who aspired to authority; there was hardly a major, he said, who did not think himself qualified to be supreme director! With respect to men at present in power, Pueyrredon and others, he said, they were the rational and moderate men of the country, who were aiming at something like a settled order of things, but that the people were of a restless and inconstant character, and fit subjects to be acted upon by turbulent demagogues. Upon the whole, his opinions as to the state of things in the country to which we were going, was rather unfavourable. He gave us to understand, that a very considerable Spanish force from Peru, had taken possession of Talcahuana in Chili, and that a second struggle would ensue between St. Martin and the much more powerful force, than that which he had subdued the year before. He likewise informed us,

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that the Portuguese were unable to make any progress in the subjugation of Artigas, while the war was carried on by them at great expense. Buenos Ayres seemed to be determined to maintain a neutral attitude as long as possible, on account of the important warfare she was carrying on with the Spaniards in Chili and Peru. He related to us a curious anecdote respecting some agents of Buenos Ayres, who had outwitted the court of Brazil, and he seemed to think, that a depth of diplomacy was displayed by them, hardly to be expected or admired in so young a state.

I shall not stop to describe the dinner, which was partly American, and partly in the style of the country. The fish of Rio are excellent, the poultry is good, and the beef very indifferent. The vegetables are uncommonly fine, the potatoes are imported from Great Britain. The dessert was composed of a great variety of fruits and sweetmeats; the fruits were melons, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and a number of others peculiar to the climate; to the natives, all no doubt exquisite; but by a stranger, even some of those that are most esteemed, are not relished at first. In the immediate vicinity of this place, our northern fruits do not succeed so well; but in the high mountains, to the south-west, I am informed they do. Among the guests at table, were two young men, one a Portuguese, and the other a Frenchman by birth; they were both addressed, *Signor Conde*, or Count, and wore small slips of ribbon in their buttonholes. What rank of nobility they held I did not know; they were plain and modest in their demeanor, and but for the designation before mentioned, I should have taken one of them, who had been touching the piano, for a music master, and the other for a teacher of the French language. The Frenchman was the more communicative of the two; and in a conversation with

him, he gave me to understand that he was in some kind of public employment. I put a number of questions to him respecting the country, but found that he knew very little of the subjects on which I was desirous of being informed. He contented himself with declamation on the magnificence of the Brazilian empire, and spoke with some warmth, of the endeavours of the British government to persuade the royal family to return to Lisbon. He declared, that they would never be able to prevail on the king to exchange his present high and independent situation, in order to place himself once more under the wing of English protection. The English had been greatly disappointed and chagrined by this resolution, but had not yet abandoned the hope of prevailing on him to change it. There may be a more powerful reason than the mere pride of royalty, for not taking this step; it is the uncertainty of his being able to retain this immense country by any other mode than a permanent transfer of his residence. It would be utterly impossible to reduce the Brazils once more to the colonial state, after having once enjoyed an exemption from the colonial restrictions. It is as difficult as it is disagreeable, to contract one's self after having filled a considerable space. One might as well expect to see a youth who had escaped the restraint of his tutor, return to his pupilage without a struggle. The Portuguese royal family never will, nor ever can, quit the Brazils, unless driven away by the inhabitants. The numerous restraints that have been taken off since they ceased to be a colony, and their rapid expansion, each day increases the difficulty of putting them back to the colonial state.

After dinner we strolled into the garden, shaded with a great many beautiful trees, and adorned with all the rich luxuriance of tropical vegetation. The country

seats along the road on each side, reminded me a good deal of the vicinity of New Orleans. The day was extremely fine, though rather hot, but not more so than a warm day in June or July in the northern parts of the United States. In front of the house, at the distance of a few hundred yards, the mountain rose in bold and rude masses, in some places presenting nothing but a naked precipice of granite; in others, covered with a great variety of beautiful shrubs and trees. A naked peak, called the Parrot Head, intercepted the clouds above us. Its height is 2500 feet; there is a path which leads to the top, but so winding, that the ascent is at least five or six miles.

The whole district of Rio Janeiro is exceedingly mountainous, and its vallies are in general deep and narrow. The mountains are not as lofty as those of Switzerland, but resemble them more than our Alleghanies. Though not covered with snow, they sometimes let loose upon the vallies, what is even more dreadful than the Avalanche; huge masses of earth loosening from the rock, by the moisture insinuated between them in the rainy seasons, slip down, and overwhelm every thing below. It is not long since an instance of this kind occured, when more than fifty families were buried alive. In the afternoon, the sun having disappeared behind the mountain, its broad shade was now spread over us, and we seated ourselves on the terrace, in order to enjoy the cool air. It was not long before we discovered a cavalcade coming along the road. Mr. Sumpter informed us, it was some of the royal family taking an airing, and that they very frequently passed this way. A couple of Indian looking dragoons gallop up, their swords rattling by their sides. They were followed at a very considerable distance by several indifferent old fashioned carriages, carrying the great people.

On approaching the house they stopped a few moments, and spoke in a famaliar, friendly manner, to Miss Sumpter. The queen and princesses, were plain in their dress, and in their manners affable and polite. But for the guards and retinue, I should have taken them to be of the respectable class of citizens. I have seen much more parade in the great people of our own country. I should have felt, I must confess, less respect for royalty, if I had seen it on this occasion arrayed in the pomp and magnificence I had figured to my imagination. Although I had read a great deal of kings, and queens, and princesses, I had no idea that I should feel so little of that awe, supposed to be produced by *the irradiations of majesty*. Paine oberves, "that kings, among themselves, are good republicans;" and being of a country where every citizen is a sovereign, I merely looked upon these people as my equals. The princess Leopoldina was distinguished from the rest, by the fairness of her complexion; I saw nothing remarkable in her appearance; and there are thousands of my countrywomen I would choose in preference for a wife. It is said her situation is extremely unpleasant, in this barbarous land, a land removed so far from *the commonwealth of courts*, and seemingly fitted only for vulgar republicanism. A number of scandalous stories are related, respecting the bickerings, and quarrellings, and parties, in the palace; for the house is said to be divided against itself.* The cavalcade proceeded along the beach; on passing the barge crew, composed of twenty-

* Among the people I heard of no parties; affairs of government do not concern them; as in Venice, it would be as dangerous to applaud the government as to speak against it. If they venture to speak on these subjects at all, it must be with great caution, and even secrecy. In a word, the government is a despotism.

four of our best looking men, and such as could hardly be picked out of the whole city, these manifested their politenesss by touching their hats, and received in return a most gracious inclination of the head from mighty queens and peerless princesses. Royalty stopped some minutes to contemplate the manly erect figures and open countenances of freemen, glowing with the youth and health of our northern climate; and was no doubt struck with the contrast between these modern Greeks, and its own vile, degraded slaves, of the same calling or occupation. Our proud spirited fellows did not, however, choose to imitate the Portuguese, by falling on their knees, until majesty passed by; a species of idolatry which experienced a salutary check in the person of Mr. Sumpter, some time ago. The incident has been related in our newspapers: I shall here give it as I had it from the minister himself. The guards who precede her majesty, were in the habit, without respect to persons, of compelling them to dismount and stand with the hat off, until the whole retinue had passed; the insult had been borne without resistance by all the foreign agents here, except the American, whose republican pride could not be brought to stoop to this degradation. He was, however, desirous to avoid, if possible, bringing the matter to issue. It was at last thrown upon him by necessity; being unable to avoid the cavalcade, he stopped his horse, and saluted the queen; but this was not satisfactory to her majesty, who is represented to be a proud and haughty woman. She ordered her guards to compel him to dismount; but on making the attempt, by brandishing their swords, the American minister stood on the defensive with his stick; on which they retreated, and he went on, leaving her majesty highly offended. The Portuguese minister remonstrated, urging the example of other foreign agents

who had submitted; but Mr. Sumpter declared, that if others tamely put up with such insults, it was no reason why he should. He now went armed, and a second attempt being made similar to the first, he was very near shooting the guard. The subject was brought before the king by complaints on both sides; the king inclined in favour of the American minister, and apologised for the insult he had received, at the same time giving assurances that it should not be repeated. The queen, determined not to be out-done, being met again some time afterwards, she stopped her carriage, and ordered her guards, ten or twelve in number, to go forward and compel the proud republican to pay the just homage to royalty. Mr. Sumpter, who continued to go armed, drew his pistols, dashed through them, approached the queen's carriage, and in a determined manner reminded her of the assurances lately given by the king, asserting his determination never to submit. He went immediately to the king, stated what had passed, declared that he considered his life unsafe, as the queen seemed determined, and he was himself equally so. The king appeared much hurt, and insisted on making an apology with his own hand, which was actually done. He ordered the guards to be imprisoned, and offered to have them punished; but Mr. Sumpter, whose ideas of justice were somewhat different, requested this might not be. The other foreign ministers offered to join Mr. Sumpter in a remonstrance, but the object was already gained, as the new order extended to all.

Mr. Sumpter entertained a high opinion of the liberality and good intentions of the king; but thought him much at the mercy of his ministers.* He is fond

* The author of the Picture of Lisbon, (Murphy) gives the following character of him at twenty-five years of age. "He is natu-

of seeing strangers, and there is no great difficulty in being presented. It is usual for commanders of ships of war touching at this place, to go through this ceremony. Commodore Sinclair according to custom was presented by our minister, at the country palace a few miles from town. He describes him as rather below the middle size, enormously fat, of very dark complexion, large black eyes with a good-natured face. He was in a military dress, spoke in French to Mr. Sumpter, and asked the commodore a great many questions respecting his profession and country. He professed a great respect for the government of the United States, and declared himself extremely desirous of cultivating its friendship; this he said he valued highly, because he knew when we professed a friendship it might be safely relied on. In withdrawing, it is the custom to imitate the movement of a certain animal, not yet the most graceful of the creation, as it is considered indecorous to turn one's back upon the king; the audience room being very long, the commodore found it inconvenient, and not a little difficult, to *back out* with safety and grace. The commissioners did not think proper to claim the honour of a presentation; having no communication to hold, they could only be regarded here in the light of private citizens.

The day after our visit to Mr. Sumpter, a little ex-

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rally of a good disposition, but young. Experience has not yet enlightened his understanding, or fortified his courage. He is timid, and his ministers make him pusillanimous; he wishes to know every thing, and his ministers conceal every thing from him; he wants to govern, and his ministers keep him aloof from the government; he fancies that he reigns, and he only lends his name to the ministers who reign over him."

cursion was agreed upon by Mr. Reed and myself, with Dr. Baldwin, the surgeon of the Congress, and whose reputation as a naturalist is well known. We were desirous of ascending to the top of the Parrot's Head, which we were informed might be accomplished in a day. On our arrival at Mr. Sumpter's, he politely furnished us with a guide, and we proceeded some distance through a valley which gradually narrowed as we went up a rapid mountain stream, brawling among loose rocks and stones. A number of negro washerwomen were plying their tasks on its borders. On each side of us we saw bare masses of granite of great height, the water oozing from underneath the vegetation on their summits, and in some places the drippings collected into a tolerable stream, rushed down several hundred feet. In the season of drought the streams are said to fail, which may possibly be owing to their not being so well supplied with perennial fountains, but in the manner I have described. At this season, clouds are continually settling on the tops of the mountains and descending in vapour. The droughts of summer are among the most serious complaints in a great part of Brazil, especially to the west of the first range of mountains. We were greatly surprised to see so much good soil and such marks of industry and cultivation, where we expected to find every thing waste and barren. In every little winding of the torrent or shelf of rock, the ground was cultivated, and a neat cottage of brick covered with burnt tiles, peered amid the thick verdure of tropical fruit trees. The chief culture near the city is grass, which is cut daily and carried to town for the supply of the immense number of domestic animals, kept for the pleasure or use of the inhabitants. They cultivate besides, Indian

corn, coffee, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and the king of fruits, the pine apple.*

To describe the richness, variety, and beauty of nature as she appears in these countries, is impossible. Nothing so much strikes the stranger with wonder, as the luxuriant garb with which the earth is clothed in tropical climates; he sees plants and trees entirely new to him, or the few that he has known rising here to a gigantic size; shrubs have become trees, and humble herbs enlarged to shrubs. He sees here in their native splendour, those productions of the vegetable kingdom, which he was accustomed to admire in hot-houses. Among the most conspicuous are the palms, of many different kinds, the opuntia, and others so often described by travellers in these regions; pyramids of the most beautiful flowers, besides a number of aromatic plants, shed a delightful fragrance; and, as if nature was not satisfied with the exuberance of the earth, a numerous race of parasites attach themselves to the boughs and trunks of trees, receiving their nourishment from the air. The whole forms a solid perennial impenetrable mass, bound together with innumerable vines or creeping plants.

Nature seems no less prolific in animated creatures—birds of the most brilliant plumage and the most melodious song---thousands of insects of the most beautiful colours fill the thickets. Innumerable species of lizards are moving in every direction; and it is said that no

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* A Portuguese poet has the following conceit:

Ho o regio *Ananaz*, fructa tao boa,
Que a mesma Natureza namorada
Quiz como a Rey cingilla de Coroa.

country is more bountifully replenished with snakes and venomous reptiles; though we are informed that the inhabitants experience less uneasiness from them than we should imagine. Dr. Baldwin, who lost no time in examining the plants with the eye and skill of the botanist, expressed himself highly gratified. For my part, although at first as it were overpowered with admiration and astonishment, I must declare that on reflection, I preferred the wild forests of my own country, although stripped of their leaves during a portion of the year. The vegetation is not so strong and so vigorous, but it is more delicate and pleasing to the eye, than this unshapen exuberance. When I recollected how often I have wandered along a meandering stream in the shady groves of oak, hickory, poplar, or sycamore of my native country, under whose boughs soft grass and flowery herbs spring up as a carpet to the feet, I could not but give them the preference to the forests of the tropic. It is difficult to conceive how the Indians of this country can make their way with any facility through this continuous hedge. It is not, however, for me to judge of a vast country from the little I have seen; but if all be like this, and I am informed it is so, give me my native groves in preference to all the glories of the south.

After proceeding about two miles in this manner, we began to ascend the mountain by a very steep and winding path. We found this exceedingly fatiguing, which was probably, in some measure, owing to our having been so long shut up and deprived of the usual exercise of our limbs. It was fortunate that the day was cloudy, otherwise we should have been unable to withstand the heat. On each side of the path to our surprise, we observed a number of small patches of cultivation. When about two-thirds of the way up,

we came to a place where the water rushes down the rock, in a small clear stream; it was to us a most delicious treat, after having suffered much from thirst. In these climates where an eternal summer reigns, there can be no object so delightful to the eye as the cool stream gushing from the fountain. We threw ourselves upon the rock, which was shaded by enormous trees; drank freely of the water, and with reluctance thought of quitting the spot. Here commences the aqueduct which supplies the city, and chiefly from this fountain. It is a work which does much credit to the viceroy by whom it was constructed, in the year 1740, as would appear from the inscription. It is received in a kind of funnel built of brick about five feet high, and about three in width; it passes along the apex of the ridge which gradually declines to the plain of Rio Janeiro; where instead of being received into pipes, it is carried into the city by an aqueduct composed of a double row of arches, intended probably for ornament, as it cannot be supposed that like the ancients, the constructors were ignorant of the principles of hydraulics. This work is at present in a bad state of repair, but we observed that workmen had been for some time engaged in enlarging and improving it. The prospect from this place is one of the most magnificent I ever behold. The scenery around the bay, is like that on the borders of some extensive lake; on the eastern side, instead of the immense mountains which enclose it on every other, the country is beautifully sloping, and with the aid of a spy-glass we could discover plantations of coffee, or cotton, on a much larger scale than any we had seen in the course of our walk. Towards the north-east, at a great distance, we could discern the Organ mountains, so called from a number of singular peaks, apparently at the termina-

tion of the ridge from their unequal elevation, and resembling huge basaltic columns. The bay, or rather lake, was studded with a great variety of beautiful islands, one of them, perhaps the largest, several leagues in circumference. A number of small villages could be distinguished at intervals, and the water prospect was enlivened by a great number of vessels of different kinds.

The fatigue and labour we had encountered, and the time we had consumed in scrambling up the mountain thus far, discouraged us from attempting to accomplish our first design. It seemed to us in fact, that we had scarcely gained more than the foot of the mountain we had intended to scale. We approached near enough, however, to form a tolerable idea of the Parrot's Head; we could distinctly see it to be a huge flat rock laid horizontally as a kind of cap-stone, on the top of a bare mass of granite; and from some rude resemblance, which I could not discover, it had received its name. Below it on the same ridge stands the sugar loaf, whose summit appeared to be on a level with us, but could hardly have been so, as its height is estimated at nine hundred feet from the water's edge, though not half that height on the side where it joins the ridge. Behind us the mountain rose to a great height, and was covered with trees of a prodigious size. Having determined to return to the city, we followed the path along the side of the aqueduct, and with a much more gradual descent than that by which we had ascended. On our way we remarked a considerable space where the granitic rock, from which the soil had slipped off, was apparently in a state of decomposition; the point of a cane was thrust in without experiencing any greater resistance than from stiff clay; this was also the case with the broad veins of spar with which the mass was penetrated. As

we approached the city the path gradually widened, and, within a mile we found a spacious sloping walk planted on each side with beautiful trees, of which we found the advantage at this time, as the sun was beginning to send forth his rays unobstructed by friendly clouds. We were accosted repeatedly by negroes, who offered to sell us some of the beautiful insects of the country, upon which they had been taught to place a value, probably by the recent visit of the European philosophers, or, by persons employed to make collections for European cabinets. We remarked a number of the lower ridges or mounds carefully cultivated in grass; but the declivity was such as to require them to be crossed in every direction in a reticulated manner, with narrow paths. We observed in one instance a deep vale but of small extent; enclosed on three sides by steep hills, and on the only side where it was open, occupied by a neat dwelling, a garden and some adjoining buildings. This vale, which could not have contained more than a few acres, was all in grass, and being shaded nearly the whole day by the mountains on each side, and the trees growing on them, had the appearance of being a cool and delightful retreat. I have been thus particular in my account of this little ramble, because it has enabled me to describe many of the features which are probably common, if not, to the whole, at least to a very great proportion of Brazil. It is at least a specimen of the mountainous country.

During our short stay at Rio, we neglected no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the place, and in collecting every information, curious or useful. Scarcely any city in America has been so often spoken of by voyagers, as it has been the great stopping place of those

bound on voyages of discovery to the South Seas, as also of vessels bound to the East Indies. We preferred remaining on shipboard for various reasons; one was, that we should thus escape the annoyance of insects and vermin, we should have to encounter at the wretched inns of the city. Another reason was, that on the water we enjoyed a cooler air than we could in a town which was hemmed in by mountains. We were in fact much more comfortably situated than we could possibly be in the city, and as the boats were continually plying to the shore, we could at any time gratify our wish to go there. In the shade, the thermometer seldom rose above eighty-four degrees of Farenheit, but the temperature was rendered more supportable by the land and sea breezes. The most disagreeable part of the day was from eight until ten or eleven, until the sea breeze gradually freshened. In the afternoon, during at least three days in the week, the clouds gathered, and after some thunder and lightning, they descended in rain; the nights were extremely pleasant and cool. During one or two days we had a tolerably stiff breeze, so as to render it somewhat unpleasant to pass from the boats to shore; no wind, however, can ever blow so as to endanger the safety of the vessels at anchor.*

This country is extremely healthy, except in the vicinity of particular situations. From the little attention of the police at Rio, and the stagnant waters in its immediate vicinity, it is only surprising that it has never been visited at least very seriously by the fevers which are so dreadful a calamity to other cities

* The Portuguese seventy-four parted her cable, which only proved to us that she was miserably found.

situated in similar climates. No people in the world enjoy better health than the inhabitants of the country. The residents of the city appear to be, especially in the lower classes, extremely lively, active, and cheerful; but from the facilities of gaining a livelihood, and the frequent recurrence of holidays, the greater part of their time is spent in amusements. Few beggars are to be seen, and all, except the wretched brutalized slaves, are decently clad. The streets swarm with children; and in the country, according to Langsdorff, they are even more prolific than in the United States; fifteen, and even twenty of a family, being not unusual. Young children enjoy excellent health, and are in general, weaned young, and nourished with the banana, which is extremely wholesome, and well adapted for the purpose. The upper classes are said to lead a very inactive and indolent life, consulting only the gratification of their pleasures; in consequence of which, their old age is overtaken by chronic diseases, among them the *elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs, to such a degree as to bear a resemblance to those of the elephant. I saw one case of this malady, at which I was greatly shocked. The inhabitants in general are temperate in their living; but if we may credit the accounts we hear, very depraved, as well as ignorant. This is not to be wondered at, considering the nature of their composition; all the mechanics are either negroes or mulattoes; and indeed almost every business which requires attention, and assiduity, is pursued by coloured people, a great proportion of whom are free. The people in general are sunk in the lowest state of political degradation; they know nothing of the measures of government; affairs of state are never the subject of their conversation, unless indeed with a very small number among the higher classes, who observe

the greatest secresy and caution. The prejudice with respect to complexion, did not appear to me as strong as in the United States. This may be owing to the great number of persons of colour, who own large fortunes, and possess wealth and consequence. I remarked several mulatto priests, and in one instance a negro.

Among the better classes of the people, Lisbon is the model upon which their manners are formed; and it is probable, that this has not changed since the arrival of the royal family. The Portuguese are said to be the only people in Europe, who preserve that Moorish jealousy, which has been banished even from Spain. The female part of their families are shut up in the strictest manner, and never venture abroad, unless it be to church; and then, their faces wrapt up in a black mantle, which passes over the head. Men seldom introduce their most intimate friends to their wives or daughters; and except at the theatre, they are rarely seen in public. Sometimes indeed, they venture to sit in the evening at their windows, and from their actions, strangers unacquainted with the customs of the country, would be apt to form unfavourable inferences. The throwing flowers at persons passing along, is known to be an innocent display of gaiety, to which custom attaches nothing improper. It is also very probable, that this frivolity is not very common among the better class of people, and that strangers, from observing these things in a few instances, of persons of a different cast, have been led to form a mistaken idea of the rest. The accounts given by Frezier and others, who consider the Brazilian women as totally devoid of that delicacy which characterizes the sex in other countries, and as continually engaged in the most shameful intrigues, cannot but

be exaggerated. At the same time, it is natural to suppose, that when thus immured from society, and deprived of daily and free intercourse with the world, those very effects would be produced, against which this cruel jealousy is intended to guard. There is but one day in the year, on which they are permitted to walk freely abroad in the streets; a kind of saturnalia, as insulting to them as their imprisonment. Marriages of inclination, are rarely made; they are usually bargains between the husband and the parents. There is a species of cruelty practised by the rich in the cities, that is really shocking to the mind of an American. It is not uncommon for men to compel their daughters to take the veil, merely with a view to preserve greater wealth in the family, as without this unfeeling practice, they would be under the obligation of settling a part of their estates as a marriage portion, or for their support.

In consequence of this state of manners, society is on a wretched footing at Rio Janeiro. Social intercourse is almost exclusively confined to foreigners. The people of the country, especially the small planters, are represented to be remarkably kind and hospitable. Several of our officers who made excursions around the shores of the bay, spoke very highly of the civility and frankness with which they were treated by the peasantry, who live very much as in the United States, scattered over the country. In a little excursion with Mr. Rodney, who was extremely anxious to see the *chirimoya*, the most exquisite fruit of South America, we landed near the cottage of a peasant in search of it, and were treated by him in the most friendly and hospitable manner. We did not succeed, the fruit being either known under a different name, or peculiar to Peru, where Ulloa speaks of it. While on this excursion, we met several German

naturalists, who informed us that they were preparing to set off in a canoe, or perogue, which they showed us, to coast it along to Rio Grande.

There is but little skill displayed here in the mechanic arts. Although they have the finest wood in the world for cabinet work, their furniture is very badly constructed, and the defect is supplied by a profusion of gilding. They excel, however, in making ornaments of gold, such as chains, crosses, &c.; but precious stones are not well set by them, and in general, they display but little taste. As to the fine arts, they are extremely low. The king's library, of sixty thousand volumes, has been thrown open for the use of the public; but within this capital of a great empire, it will be long before there will be any thing that will deserve the name of literature. The rich native inhabitants have generally other tastes; there is nothing to call forth public discussions from the press; there is yet, in fact, no public. The art of printing, itself, which was restricted in the colonial state, is not yet sufficiently spread to satisfy the demand, small as it is. There is more printing in any one of our smallest cities, than in all Brazil. A botanical garden has been established in the neighbourhood of the city, and is said to be respectable. There are but few of the usual accompaniments of European monarchy. The king has imported a company of opera performers from Italy, at an expense that would build a frigate. Several of our officers attended the theatre, and spoke highly of their performance. There is something truly ridiculous in such importations, to a country which stands so much in need of an increase of population. A royal amusement, for which Lisbon is particularly celebrated, the bull fights, has not been successfully introduced here. Repeated attempts were lately made in a circus erected

near the country palace, but they utterly failed, as the bulls were found good for nothing, in all probability to the great joy of the bull fighters.

The cattle of this province are small, and the market is supplied from Rio Grande or St. Catharines; but, after being driven several hundred miles in this hot climate, over the worst roads in the world, they are miserably poor by the time they reach this place. The crops of coffee, or cotton, from the interior, are brought on the backs of mules, the former generally put up in raw hides. I could not learn whether the cotton gin has been introduced, but I am inclined to think it has not. While we were here, a cargo of wheat arrived from Chili. The market for this article, or flour, is extremely uncertain, from the smallness of the quantity requisite to supply it. The great body of the people use the mandioca, not merely as a substitute, but even in preference. This root is of great importance throughout all South America, and is cultivated with care. It yields two crops a year, and is prepared by boiling and expressing the juice, which is poisonous; the sediment which remains, after pouring off the water, is the tapioca of the shops. There is no doubt, but that the use of flour will increase, and of course, the demand from the United States, which can always supply it on better terms and of a better quality, than La Plata or Chili, or the southern provinces of Brazil. Grapes are raised at Rio, but not for the purpose of making wine. It is only in poor lands, and very populous countries, that the vine can be cultivated extensively; the culture of cotton, tobacco, sugar, and indigo, are so much more profitable, that it is not likely that wine will be made for use or exportation. To the south, the vine flourishes much better than in this province.

The inhabitants are represented, as being much devoted to the ceremonies of their religion. The Inquisition was never established here, very fortunately for the Jews, who are numerous, and whose outward conformity has never been strictly scrutinized. The kings of Portugal obtained from the pope, nearly the same grant of ecclesiastical supremacy over their American possessions, as the king of Spain over theirs. There is a primate at St. Salvador, to whom all the churches of Brazil acknowledge obedience. The chief business of the colonists of a general interest, consists in the public ceremonies of their religion, such as processions in the streets, and masses. Devotion has become rather a matter of amusement, than a serious duty. At every hour of the day, rockets are let off, a singular accompaniment to religious exercises.* The clergy are said to be licentious, and even the nuns have been spoken of, as not possessing the sanctity enjoined by their vows. An occurrence took place some time ago, which scandalized the faithful, perhaps, much more than acts of a more reproachful kind. Two British officers, one a lieutenant, and the other a surgeon, of a ship of war, prevailed on two of the nuns to elope with them; the ladies fell upon the expedient of letting themselves down from the second story window of the convent, by means of their bed clothes. The enamorada of the lieutenant came safely to his arms, but the other had the misfortune to fall, and was so severely hurt, that her lover, though a physician, could

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* "The religious system which held its empire with such happy effects so long, has now some resemblance to a machine, of which the spring, by its own internal working, has slackened at length, and wearing out."—*Macartney's Embassy.*

afford her no relief, and was obliged to leave her behind. The lieutenant carried his nun on board the ship, and was married by the chaplain.

An interesting description of the province of Rio Janeiro, is given by the author of the Corographia. The name was given to the bay in 1532, by the intrepid navigator de Sousa, in consequence of his mistaking it for a river, and the name was extended to the province.* It was not settled until about the year 1567, and after a French colony of Protestants sent by Admiral Coligny, had been dispossessed by the governor of Bahia, or St. Salvador. Rio Janeiro did not become the capital of the province until 1668, when the colony had acquired some importance, and the value of this noble harbour was becoming better known. The province extends along the coast about sixty leagues, and is about twenty-five in width. It is divided into two parts by the Organ mountains. On the other side of these is the river Paraiba, which flows between them and the chain of Mantequera, in a valley not more than sixty miles across in its widest part. This river takes its rise in the district of St. Paul, and is navigable five or six hundred miles from its mouth. About eight leagues below the town of Lorenzo, where it has already acquired considerable volume, the whole of its waters are compressed into a channel of five fathoms wide, between two natural walls, upwards of seventy feet high, and several hundred long. From the narrowness of its valley, it receives few rivers of any magnitude, although it dis-

* A number of small rivers discharge themselves into the bay from the sides of the Organ mountains which border on the western side, but none of them navigable more than two or three miles.

charges a great body of water into the ocean. Its banks are highly cultivated; some of the most valuable sugar plantations of Brazil, are situated on them. With the exception of the district of Goytacazes, the province is extremely mountainous. In the district just mentioned, there are some low lands, marshes, and swamps. In the mountain districts, it is natural to expect a number of cascades and water falls; no country can be more picturesque and romantic. The fall of Tejouco, in the vicinity of the capital, is particularly described, as being worthy the attention of those who admire such objects.

The coronation, for which so much preparation had been made, was at last announced for the 6th of February. The morning was ushered in by salutes from all the forts, as well as from the ships of war at anchor in the harbour. As a mark of respect to the government of the country, whose hospitality we enjoyed, the commodore joined the other commanders of foreign vessels in firing a salute. All the ships were dressed in the colours of the different nations of the world, and exhibited one of the most splendid appearances I ever witnessed; but whether to be attributed to accident or design, we know not, on examining the different flags, it was discovered that ours was not among them. The commodore on making this discovery, resolved to go no further in the demonstrations of respect for the occasion. The ceremony took place about noon, in the Grecian temple we had seen in the public square. With the nature of the ceremony I am unacquainted, as none of us were near enough to see and hear. It was followed by the shouts of the assembled multitude, and tremendous discharges of artillery, which I thought would never cease. The regular troops, four or five thousand, together with the disciplined militia

about the same number, had been drawn out, and at the close of the ceremony, fired vollies of musquetry. At sun down, the firing of cannon was renewed, first from the different forts in succession, and then from the ships of war; and as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the mountains, a tremendous roaring continued even for some time after the firing had ceased. It was no sooner dark, than the illuminations, whose splendour eclipsed the starry vault above us, were displayed along the whole front of the city, and also from the different forts, from the detached buildings on the heights, and around the harbour. All the vessels, except the Congress, which seemed to mourn the event, were also illuminated in the most curious and tasteful manner. Nothing could have a finer effect, than the glittering of so many lights, and their brilliant reflection upon the water. The ingenuity displayed in the arrangement of the illuminations, was very great. By the aid of small glass lamps of various colours, a great variety of curious and beautiful figures were formed, representing triumphal arches, temples, and a number of other objects. Columns and pyramids, were erected for the purpose of enabling them to display curious festoons and other figures. Large sums were said to have been expended by individuals, who vied with each other in the taste and splendour of their illuminations; and in particular, the owner of a country seat fronting the harbour, is said to have expended twenty thousand dollars; a number of large arches were raised on high columns, so contrived as to represent a crown, its base more than a hundred feet, and beautifully proportioned, displaying near the top the arms of Portugal. The person who was thus distinguished in the display of his loyalty, we were informed, had

in view a title of nobility, being only a rich plebeian.

The two succeeding days passed in the same way, until eyes and ears could no longer bear this dazzling and astounding manifestation. It was natural for us to draw a comparison between the simple and unaffected ceremony, of installing the chief magistrate chosen by a free people to guide their affairs, and all this noise and glitter calculated to intoxicate, astound, and stupify, the human intellect. I could not but reflect how small the number among this wretched rabble, that reasoned justly and wisely, on the scene before them! It was not the joyous emotions of the soul, but stupifying amazement. How different is the enthusiasm of the free, from the noisy acclamation of a people, who, without these artifices, would continue in unchangeable dullness. The real enthusiasm of a freeman, stands in no need of these aids.

The day after the coronation, I went on shore in company with some gentlemen of the ship. The city as may be supposed was let loose; all was noise, uproar and confusion. Seeing people going in and coming out, of a long temporary building on one side of the chapel, we approached, and were informed we might enter. It was splendidly fitted up, probably for the performance of some ceremony, as the regalia were displayed on a table covered with rich purple; the arms of Portugal were also seen, and the whole was fitted up in a style of extraordinary magnificence. At the door there were four or five priests, who had fallen fast asleep, having, as I supposed, set up all the preceding night, and it was now in the afternoon.*

* It was humourously said, that numbers of the common people gazed on the illumination with such blank amazement, *as to fall asleep with their eyes and mouths open.*

The palace is a long row of buildings, no way remarkable in point of architecture, but sufficient to lodge comfortably twenty or thirty families. I saw a number of ladies seated on their balconies, dressed in very splendid attire, and their heads adorned with a profusion of feathers; at first we took them all for princesses, but afterwards supposed that some might be maids of honour. In front of the palace, there stood at least a dozen coaches, beside other carriages, waiting for some thirty or forty of the royal family, who were going to the country palace, whither the king had already gone. The coaches were splendid things, very heavy, with much gilding about them, and apparently not less than a hundred years old; from which I conjectured, that these vehicles were only used on great occasions. The dresses of the coachmen, the postillions, of whom there was one on every other mule, the footmen, and out-riders, were the most outre imaginable; their appearance carried me back a couple of centuries at least, *and led me to reflect how much importance, in monarchies, is attached to antiquities.* Kings are very slow in adopting the improvements of the age in which they live; they are almost as hard to civilize, as our North American Indians. I saw a great many of the nobility running to and fro, and from the richness of their decorations, I judged of very high orders, such as gentlemen of the bed chamber, grooms of the stole, and royal rat-killers. I wish I could speak with some respect of these things, but for my soul I cannot; and I think it my duty to give to my countrymen, a true copy of the impressions left by them on my mind. Such is the first coronation of a king in America—will it be the last? Leaving the reader to make his own reflections on the sovereign, I shall proceed to make some general observations on the country, whose future destinies are to be so much affected by the ceremonies I have described.

We have, in general, very inadequate conceptions of the importance of the Brazilian empire. The books of geography give extremely meagre and imperfect accounts of this wonderful country. While in its colonial state, the Portuguese pursued nearly the same policy with the Spaniards, in the jealous exclusion of enlightened strangers; and they were rather fearful of exciting the cupidity of other nations, by permitting descriptions of it to be published. But since the transfer of the throne, this policy has ceased; and therefore, it is natural to expect, the prevailing wish or inclination, is to make a display of the greatness and riches of the seat of empire. Within a few years, we have had several travellers, especially Mawe and Koster, who have shed considerable light on the Brazils. Much information is collected in Southey and Beauchamp, on the civil and political history. I made diligent search after new works published in the country, but I found that printing and publishing here, are still at a very low ebb. There are but two book-stores at Rio, most indifferently supplied; and the only periodical works published in the whole of the Brazils, are two weekly newspapers, each about the size of a man's hand. The only work I could meet with, is one published in 1817, entitled the Corografia Brazilica. It is a kind of gazetteer, containing a mass of curious local information, but singularly deficient in those particulars, which we are in the habit of regarding as indispensable in geographical works. It does not, in a single instance, give the population of provinces, or cities; the writer contenting himself with some general expressions, that the population is large, moderate, or small. It is, notwithstanding, the most important work issued from the Brazilian press, since the arrival of the royal family. The statistical part of the work is vague and unsatisfactory; it says not a

word of the amount of shipping, of exports, or imports; the produce of the mines, or royal revenues. The account however, of the navigation of rivers, the descriptions of towns and settlements, which are very minute, add considerably to the information already possessed. No country except New Holland, opens so magnificent a field to the enlightened and scientific traveller. The men of science now engaged in exploring this interesting country, may be expected before long to make valuable additions to the stock of general knowledge.*

To estimate the American empires by their present importance in the scale of nations, without taking into view what they are destined to become, at no distant day, would be to compare a young giant to a full grown dwarf. As an American, I cannot but feel a kind of pride in looking forward to the lofty destinies of this new world,

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* The king of Brazil deserves high praise for the facilities offered to literary and scientific men, in exploring this country. Several of the courts of Europe, and many learned societies, have sent out persons for this purpose. Mr. Swainson, F.R.S. during the two last years, made extensive journeys through the provinces of Pernambuco and Bahia; Mr. Freycrics, and Dr. Sellow, sent out by the Prussian government, had explored the coast from Bahia to Rio Janeiro, in which they had occupied eighteen months. In the same expedition which brought out the princess Leopoldina, a scientific mission also arrived, consisting of the following persons: Professor Meken, botanist; Mr. Schott, gardener; Dr. Pohl, mineralogist; Mr. Buckberger, botanical painter; and Mr. Euter, landscape painter; Mr. Natter, zoologist, with assistants. Some of them have set off for Mato Grosso. Mr. Aug. de St. Hilair, a French naturalist, has explored the province of Minas, and the banks of the St. Francisco. Mr. Langsdorf, the present Russian minister, is engaged in studying the natural history. The principality of Tuscany, has sent professor Raddi, of Florence; and the king of Bavaria has sent two naturalists, Messrs. Spix and Martius, who are still in the interior.

——"A seat where gods might dwell,
Or wander with delight."

The only empires that can be compared to the Brazil, in point of magnitude, are those of China, Russia, and the United States; and although at present the least in point of population, the day will come, when it will be the greatest. Brazil is, in fact, the body and heart of South America; although covering a less extent than the part which belongs to Spain, it possesses great superiority in being more compact, and enjoying superior facilities of internal communication. It may seem premature at this day to institute a comparison between the Brazils and our country; but the time will come, when such a comparison will appear natural, and even unavoidable. The fate of the Spanish colonies, contending for independence under the banners of republicanism, is still enveloped in doubt and conjecture. Should the contest with Spain terminate fortunately, a much greater uncertainty hangs over them, as to the extent and nature of their confederacies; whether they will form a republic on a territorial scale, similar to that of North America, or separate into small unconnected States. There is, without doubt, in the countries now contending for independence, *an infinitely greater tendency to anarchy among the members,* than prevailed with us, with much fewer means of binding them together under one common head. This is not the case with the Brazils; *it is one and indivisible,* and the probability is, will continue so, unless the royal family should resolve to return to Portugal. Here then, when we consider the vast capacities and resources of Brazil, it is not visionary to say, that this empire is destined to be our rival. If formed by the mighty genius of a Peter the Great, and developed on a scale commensurate with

its extraordinary extent, resources, and advantages, it would not be long before the truth of these observations would be made evident. Looking at the Brazils therefore as a rival, and in the nature of things she must be such, it may be well that she is placed under a race of kings, not likely to inspire the nation with the formidable energy of our republic, but rather to dissipate the force of the body politic, in childish projects, and royal extravagance. Without some master spirit at the head of the government, the avowed and bold enemy, like Pombal, of the power which stands between the people and the throne, there is no likelihood of correcting the mass of abuses, which must powerfully retard its growth, and vitiate its formation. Obedience will be the first thing to be secured; and a free enlightened, enterprising American population, can never be sufficiently passive for the best of kings. It is very certain, that a young American nation, if left to itself, might outgrow many of the original vices of its constitution; but it will be the policy of a monarchical government, to perpetuate the worst, and correct only the least of them.

A nearer survey of the empire of Brazil, will give a more adequate idea of its importance. Its shores are washed by the waves of the Atlantic from the river Arauary, north of the entrance of the Amazon in two degrees north, to Rio de St. Pedro in thirty-three, south. On the north it is bounded by the Amazon, as high up as the mouth of the Javari, and up that river to the seventy-fourth degree of west longitude, and thence in a southerly direction to the great river Madeira, and along the river Items, and ranges of mountains to the Paraguay; across this river and along a range of mountains to the south of Rio Grande St. Pedro, terminating as before mentioned. The disputes between Spain and Portugal, with respect to boundaries are well known.

These unavoidably arose in the same manner as in other parts of America, on the gradual approximation of the settlements of different nations, commenced in the first instance at sufficient distances from each other. The Portuguese, from the earliest period, claimed the whole left bank of the Parana and La Plata, while their progress in this direction was considered by the Spaniards as encroachments. There was no rational principle for the termination of disputes of this nature, but that of the more complete occupancy, or express stipulation. In both of these particulars the cause of Spain was decidedly the best. The quarrels which arose from time to time, were settled by the treaties of 1680, 1750, and 1760, which however produced but temporary suspensions, until finally settled by the treaty of Ildefonso, of the first of October, 1777, confirmed by the treaty of Pardo, of the year following. By this treaty the boundaries were settled as far as they could be by mere description, and they were perhaps the most extensive ever agreed upon between two sovereigns. Except the boundary of the United States settled by the treaty of 1783, I know of none that can be compared with it. The articles of treaty, from the third to the tenth inclusive, trace this wonderful boundary along the ridges and mountains, and along the courses of rivers, leaving the connecting links where these natural boundaries fail, to be settled by commissioners whom the parties agree to appoint for this purpose. One of these on the part of Spain, (Azara) was actually sent out, but in the preface of his valuable work on South America, he complains of a want of good faith on the part of the Portuguese government, in the fulfilment of its engagements. After remaining nine years in the country, the business was left unfinished. Although the line was therefore never formally established; yet the natural boundaries are in general, of so bold and

permanent a character, as to leave little room for dispute. The Portuguese geographers, however, still continue to claim the same extent as if no treaties had been entered into.

Some writers in describing the Brazil, speak of it as an immense triangle, each of its sides two thousand miles in length. The Corografia Brazilica, calls it a Peninsula formed by the Atlantic ocean on the east, on the west by the Madeira, and on the south by Paraguay, which interlocks with this river. The Isthmus of no great width, and formed by the dividing ridge between the waters of the two greatest rivers in the world. Lying within the tropics, or immediately on their borders, the diversity of climate, is of course not striking as respects the variations of the seasons, or the productions of the earth. Although generally a hilly and mountainous country, it has no mountains that approach the elevation of those of Peru, where under the torrid zone there may be found the temperature of the mildest climates. Their height is sufficient, however, in many parts to influence the temperature considerably, although elevated plains, similar to those described by Humboldt, are probably not to be met with. There are powerful causes however, which cannot but have great influence on the temperature of Brazil. The piercing south-west winds sweeping over the pampass of Buenos Ayres, pass over a great part of it, and the cool air from the immense snowy ridges of the west, must no doubt have a great effect in tempering the heat to which the immense open plains below them would otherwise be subject; while at the same time the parts exposed to the ocean are fanned by the unceasing current of the trades.*

* On the Paraguay, even as high as latitude twenty-five, the south-west wind is at times cold and piercing, and in the Amazon directly

Brazil contains upwards of two millions of square miles, and when we consider the small proportion to be deducted for lakes and marshes, or for excessive rigor of climate, as in the case of Russia, we may form some idea of its greatness. It is washed on the north for three thousand miles by the mighty course of the Amazon, and it has a sea coast of nearly twice the extent of that of the United States. From the capital to its northern extremity at the mouth of the Javari, it is in a straight line, between three and four thousand miles. From the Rio Janeiro to Cuyaba, in the province of Mato Grosso, the distance is upwards of a thousand miles by land. No country is better supplied with ports and harbours, those of Rio Janeiro, and St. Salvador, are not surpassed, if equalled, by any in the world; and those of Para, Maranham, Olenda, Paraiba, Seguro, Espiritu, Santo, St. Catherine, Rio Grande, and many others. The position of Brazil in relation to Europe, Asia, and Africa, is amongst those advantages usually pointed out by those who seem to be of opinion that this country is destined to hold the highest rank among commercial nations. The possessions of Portugal may be said to occupy both shores of the Atlantic. The distance from Cape St. Roque to the nearest point on the African continent, is estimated at five hundred leagues.

To give an idea of the interior is not easy, when we consider how little of it has been described with ac-

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under the equator, a fact is related in the voyage of Texeir down this river, which appears more singular than the occurrence related by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, at the southern extremity of the continent; while descending the Amazon, it suddenly grew so cold, that the men were compelled to change their clothing, and even then found it unpleasant.

curacy. Some of the bolder features we may venture to delineate. It has already been said, that its surface is in general mountainous, with the exception of the vast plains, of what width is not accurately known, stretching along the right bank of the Amazon. The great ridges of mountains have generally been ascertained with some accuracy. From what I have seen and heard, these mountains bear a greater resemblance to those of the West Indies than to the Alleghanies. Their summits are generally covered with lofty forest trees, and their sides in most places with a fertile soil. In fact the prevailing character of Brazil, is that of a perennial forest, where nature multiplies her productions with a most lavish profusion. The most remarkable mountains are those of Borborema, to the north; of Mantequera, in the province Minas; those of Ajmores, and those of Mangabeira. The first great range commences at the northern extremity of the province of Bahia, and stretches along the coast as far as St. Catherine's, generally about the distance of one hundred and fifty miles. The length is about the same with our Alleghanies, but they leave a greater extent of territory than is occupied by our Atlantic states from Maine to Georgia. Many fine rivers flow over this inclined plain, such as the Paraiba, Rio Doce, Higitonhonha, Rio Real, and others that may be compared to the Delaware, Susquehanna, or Potomac. This range of mountains is brought nearer to the sea, as the coast tends more to the west in the province of Rio Janeiro; it also sends out a spur called the Organ mountains, which renders the country on the south side of Paraiba extremely rugged and mountainous. The next range commences between the provinces of Pernambuco and Maranham; it is longer and more considerable than the former, and forms with it the valley of the river San

Francisco,* which appears to contain almost as much territory as the country which lies to the east of the mountains along the sea coast. This range afterwards rises into broken alps, connected with the great Cordillera of Brazil. Here are probably some of the most elevated mountains in South America east of the Andes; it is here that some of the principal rivers of Brazil take their rise; such as the Parana, the Tocantins, and San Francisco. Beyond the last mentioned range of mountains, there is a track of unexplored country watered by the Tocantine and its branches, particularly the Araguaya, which when united with the former, flows into the bay of Para. The two great branches, the Tocantine and Araguaya, are separated by a range of the Cordillera, and therefore form distinct vallies, the valley of the Tocantines equal to that of the San Francisco, the other considerably larger. A chain of mountains runs along the east side of the Tocantine for several hundred miles, narrows its valley considerably, and separates its waters from those of the Parnaiba and other large rivers, which discharge themselves into the ocean, north of Pernambuco, in the province of Maranham.

A great proportion of the valley of the Araguaya consists of plains and steppes, and is even represented as forming an exception to the general fertility of Brazil.† West of this valley, there is another assemblage of mountains, about the sixtieth degree of

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* The same ridges, like the Alleghanies, are known by different names in their course.

† On the upper part of the Araguaya are situated the Campos Parecixis, so called from a nation of Indians inhabiting them. They are said to be extensive sand plains, with little or no vegetation, except on the borders of the streams, which are said to be numerous, notwithstanding the moving sands through which they flow.

west longitude, in which the most considerable rivers of South America take their sources; such as the Paraguay, the Madiera, the Chingu, and the Topajos. The district of Mato Grosso embraces the heads of these rivers, compared with which the greatest of Europe are but rills. The south side of the valley of the Amazon is the least known in South America, having been visited only by occasional missionaries. All that is known with certainty is, that it is covered with deep forests, and traversed by a great number of large rivers.

When I reflect on the myriads of human beings which will swarm along its banks, and on the banks of its southern tributaries, the Jaty, the Jurua, the Tefe, the Carori, the Paros, the Madiera, the Tapajos, and Chingu, I am lost in wonder and amazement. That the germ already planted in this empire will expand in magnitude, in a manner never witnessed except in the United States, I entertain no doubt; and in spite of all we may say of the tendency of climate on the human faculties and energies, wisdom should teach us, that man is no where to be despised. History tells us, that his powers may be equally exerted in the torrid zone, as in the most invigorating climates, provided there be a sufficient excitement to call them into action.

The trade of Brazil has been thrown open, foreigners have been encouraged to settle, the savage tribes of the forest will vanish before the approach of civilization, *and before a century goes round, this empire will develope itself on a scale of which few at present dream.* I rejoice that we are separated by so great a distance by sea and land, as it will secure to us relations of friendship and mutual interest, unless either of us happens to be led astray by pride, prejudice, or

folly, for what object could there be held forth to tempt even our ambition? The only place where we can possibly meet as enemies, is on the ocean, and here it becomes us to be friends. Brazil is destined to become a great naval power, and England will find, sooner than she expects it, that her nursling will throw aside her leading strings. I have said, and still repeat, that it is proper and wise in us to cherish good will with this rising empire. With the monarchical government let them do as they please, we are not in search of proselytes to republicanism; it is enough for us to know that our own institutions are the best; others have the same right to their opinions, and to the enjoyment of the kind of government best adapted to their situations. At the same time I am not insensible to the feelings awakened by seeing a monarchy set up in our neighbourhood, which we should regard with indifference if on the other side of the Atlantic. Things so utterly dissimilar when brought almost in contact, are apt to be seized with a hatred to each other, merely on account of that dissimilarity. But this is not wise---it can tend to no good purpose, when we reflect that to hold intercourse, and entertain relations with them is unavoidable. But I find myself entering on a difficult subject; possibly if our dislike to monarchy should diminish, our love for republicanism would diminish also; but why should we hate any one merely for being less fortunate than ourselves? There is no danger for the present, at least, that the great body of the American people will look upon monarchy with a dangerous complacency; but there is danger of their declining, on account of their antipathy to certain forms of government, friendly and profitable relations with foreign states. There is also danger that our republican feelings may degenerate into a vicious pride,

which will cause us to be the objects of just hatred to other nations. It behoves us to be careful not to fall into those habits which we so severely condemn in others.

Brazil contains, according to the best information I could procure, about three millions of souls, independently of the uncivilized Indians who inhabit the interior, and even in some places on the sea coast. Nearly the whole of this population is scattered along the coast, from the Amazon to the St. Pedro; the proportion residing beyond the mountains is much less than that of our western states. About one million are Europeans, and their descendants; about eight hundred thousand are subdued Indians; the remainder are of the African race. The Indians reside in their villages under a kind of government, combined of the civil and ecclesiastical, together with chiefs of their own choosing, pretty much in the manner of the Spanish missions. Many of them hire themselves as labourers, and engage in the arduous task of clearing lands, and many are employed as seamen. During the early periods of the settlement, the Portuguese engaged in a continual chase after the natives, for the purpose of reducing them to slavery; and they pursued the same policy with the slave-dealers of Africa, in stirring up wars between neighbouring nations, for the purpose of purchasing their prisoners. The only excuse that could be alleged for this, was the circumstance of their being nearly all cannibals, and thus prevailed upon to renounce their practices for the sake of profit. The Indian slavery was carried to almost as great an extent, as the negro slavery has been since; and was only renounced from their finding that the negroes answered their purpose better, and could be obtained at a cheaper rate. The Indians were found to pine away

in slavery, and to become liable to a variety of diseases, from which they were exempt in their native woods, in consequence of a total change in their habits and mode of life. The exertions of the Jesuits in their favour, must ever entitle that society to respect from the friends of humanity; they drew upon themselves, in consequence, the enmity of the colonists; an enmity exasperated to the highest degree, by what their selfish interest induced them to consider, a meddling interference with their personal rights and possessions. We can form some idea of what this hostility would be, by observing the light in which abolition societies are regarded in other countries where slavery is tolerated. The Jesuits in this instance acted on the principle, *homo sum, et humani a me nil alienum puto.* The colonists, although disposed to yield obedience to temporal or ecclesiastical sovereignty, in ordinary cases, it was found that the authority of both the king and the Pope, when called in to the aid of the Jesuits, was of no avail where private interests were so deeply affected; their maxim was, *touch my property, touch my life.*

The reducing the Indians to slavery was finally arrested, not by convincing the colonists of the inhumanity of the practice, but by furnishing substitutes, whom they preferred. The slave trade is therefore still carried on extensively; the annual importation is estimated at thirty thousand, chiefly males. The price varies from two to three hundred dollars; their natural increase is discouraged, from the calculation that it is much *cheaper* to import full grown slaves, than to bring up the young ones. Every inducement is thus taken away by the abominable traffic, to alleviate their condition, or to render it comfortable. Where the sordid passions have sway, they are almost always accompanied

with erroneous reasonings, even as to the policy best calculated for the attainment of their object. Experience has proved to us in the United States, that since the abolition of the slave trade, and the improvement, which has every where taken place in the condition of the slaves, both their numbers and value have increased in a proportion far beyond what had been previously observed; the latter, a painful circumstance to the philanthropists of our country, who see increasing difficulties in the way of their emancipation. If we did not look forward to the hope of being able to free ourselves from them altogether, but regard merely our interests, the circumstance would be remarked with satisfaction. It serves to prove, however, that even injustice prospers, by consulting as far as is compatible with its acts, the dictates of humanity. The policy of the Brazilians, is, therefore, utterly unsupported by experience, even on their own principles. The idea of the necessity of slavery at all in the torrid zone, any more than in the frigid, is equally founded upon false reasoning. Lands are better cultivated by freemen in all climates; AND SLAVERY IS EVERY WHERE A CURSE. The common plea is, that the Africans alone can withstand the heat of the tropical sun; without denying the fact, it can be easily proved that the freeman, who labors with alacrity, can do more in the mornings and evenings, *than the sinking, heartless slave, during the whole of the day.* There may not be as many idle and luxurious nabobs, it is true; but there will be a thousand times the number of happy and virtuous families.

The British government has induced the king of Portugal to agree to an abolition of the slave trade, for the consideration of half a million sterling. But the act will be very little relished by his subjects, and it is thought by many, that it will be only nominal, on ac-

count of the vicinity to Africa, and the facility of smuggling the slaves, when it is presumed that no great pains will be taken to prevent it.

The following is a statement of the population of the different provinces of Brazil, and of the chief towns.* It is derived from a source in which I place the greatest reliance.

Provinces.		*Chief Cities.*	
Pernambuco	550,000	Pernambuco	40,000
Bahia	500,000	Bahia	90,000
Minas	384,000	Villa Rica	20,000
Rio de Janeiro..	400,000	Rio Janeiro.....	90,000
St. Paulo	300,000	St. Paul	20,000
Rio Grande	250,000	Portalegre	3,000
Maranham	200,000	Maranham	20,000
Para	150,000	Para.....	15,000
Matto Grosso ..	100,000	Cuyaba	30,000
Goyaz	170,000	Villa Boa.....	5,000
	3,000,000		

The proportion of blacks in the great cities, is at least fifteen for one; that of the mixed breed, African or Indian, I had no means of ascertaining. The whole population probably increases with as much rapidity as in the United States. There is every disposition on the part of the present sovereign, to encourage emigrations, but it is not in his power to prevent vexations from being practised on the emigrants, and they are not received with good will by the inhabitants,

* The political divisons are, 1. provinces; 2. chamarcas, or counties; 3. cities; 4. villas or towns; 5. povacoas; 6. aldeas, or villages.

especially of cities. The obstacles in the way of obtaining lands, is very discouraging, on account of the enormous fees and exactions of the public officers, or the uncertainty of titles, where they purchase from individuals. As in all countries so thinly inhabited, lands are worth little more than the improvements put on them, and perhaps with greater reason here than elsewhere, on account of the difficulties of clearing them.

With the exception of the three provinces, Minas, Matto Grosso, and Goyaz, all the rest have a maritime boundary. These three provinces may be called the *back country* of the Brazils. The province of Minas, occupies the country in the valley of St. Francisco, and on the heads of the Parana; it is estimated at six or seven hundred miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth. Its mines of gold and diamonds, are probably the most productive in Brazil, and with the mines of Cuyaba, to the westward, contribute chiefly to enable the city of Rio Janeiro to outstrip St. Salvador, the former capital. "The mining districts," says Mawe, "being most populous, required the greatest proportion of consumable goods, and in return, send the most valuable articles of commerce; hence, innumerable troops of mules are continually travelling to and from those districts; their common burden is about three hundred weight each, which they carry to the almost incredible distance of fifteen hundred to two thousand miles." The province of Goyaz, still further west, occupies the valley of the Tocantine, and extends from six to twenty-one degrees, south. This province, like most of those in the interior of this immense country, is also possessed of valuable mines. Its distance from the coast enables it to carry on very little commerce; its agricultural produce being too ex-

pensive to be transported in any great quantities. They depend chiefly on the produce of their mines, which is usually carried to Rio Janeiro, to procure the articles they want, such as salt, iron, cotton prints, woollens, (particularly baizes,) hats, fire arms, powder and shot, and hardware of every kind. When they have any thing sufficiently valuable, over and above procuring these articles, they lay it out in the purchase of negroes, whom they make great exertions to procure. This province, is, however, very little known, but has the character of being a fine country, possessing numerous rivers, especially towards the heads of the Tochantine, finely watered, the streams abounding in fish; and the earth covered with a variety of valuable woods. The cotton, sugar, and other products of this vast district, instead of being carried over by land, across immense chains of mountains, to St. Salvador and Rio Janeiro, will pass down the river to the gulph of Para, as soon as this district of country becomes sufficiently peopled, and some great city, like New Orleans, rises on its shores.

Matto Grosso, as has been said, embraces all the upper branches of the great rivers of Brazil, and is the most interior province. Its chief wealth consists in its valuable mines; its distance, at present, being too great for the transportation of heavy articles by land. It however possesses, naturally, the greatest facilities for carrying its produce to market by means of the Paraguay, or branches of the Amazon. From this province, however, as well as from Goyaz, cattle are sometimes driven to the capital. The merchant at Cuyaba, sometimes carries his ingots to Bahia, by the way of Goyazes, or to the metropolis by the same road, or by that of Camapyan; it is ascertained, that a trade may be also carried on with the inhabi-

tants of Gran Para, by means of the river Tapajos. A number of other communications may be opened; two to the last named port, one by the Chingu, the other by the Rio des Mortes and Araguaya. Two others may be opened to St. Paul and the metropolis; the first by the rivers St. Lorenzo, Piquire, Sucurui, and Tiete ;* the second by land, across the Bororoma, and Coyaponia, crossing the Parana between the confluence of the Paranahyba, and the falls of Urubupunga. This road would be eighty leagues shorter than that pursued by the way of Villa Boa.

The foreign commerce of Brazil is every day increasing, in a proportion commensurate with the rapid advancement of the country. The principal articles of export have already been noticed. In cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar, they are already our rivals in Europe, and lying more contiguous to the West Indies, will rival us in the trade of lumber and live stock. The province of Rio Janeiro, besides gold and precious stones, already exports ten thousand chests of sugar, four millions of pounds of coffee, some manufactured tobacco, and fifteen or twenty thousand bags of cotton, besides hides and rum.

Bahia exports twenty-eight or thirty thousand chests of sugar, of twelve or fourteen hundred weight each, thirty thousand bags of cotton, of five arrobas each, forty thousand rolls of tobacco in twists, and three thousand bales of leaf, averaging about five hundred weight. Also some coffee and rice, course earthen ware,

* It is worthy of remark, that nearly all the rivers of Brazil, are much obstructed by falls and cataracts. The Tiete has a great number. Perhaps no country has so many cataracts and cascades, as the Brazil.

and grass cables, besides salted hides, tanned leather, and rum.

Pernambuco exports sixty or seventy thousand bales of cotton, eleven to fourteen thousand chests of sugar, and one hundred thousand salted hides; Maranham exports nearly the same quantity of cotton as Pernambuco, and four or five thousand chests of sugar, some rice and cocoa. Para exports cotton, rice, cocoa, and drugs, as also woods of various kinds.

The province of St. Paul, whose trade is chiefly dependent on the metropolis, not being situated itself on the sea coast, exports sugar, coffee, cattle, hogs, &c. It also has a considerable trade with the interior provinces of Minas and Matto Grosso; it has some manufactures of cotton cloths.

Rio Grande exports beef, hides, and tallow, to a great amount, probably not less than three millions of dollars. The exports of beef and tallow, are however principally to Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco. This province formerly exported, and supplied the others on the sea coast, with flour and wheat; but, for the last two years, there has been no export of consequence, raising scarcely sufficient for the supply of the troops which have been thrown into the southern part of Brazil, for the purpose of keeping up the war with Artigas.

To speak of the different mines of Brazil, with the minuteness which their number and importance deserve, would require itself a volume. Next to the possessions of Spain, those of Portugal exceed all other countries of the world in mineral wealth. Immense sums have been drawn from the gold mines since their first discovery by the inhabitants of St. Paul, in 1557. They were formerly placed under great restrictions, but at present they are thrown open

to every person who chooses to search for, or work them, on paying the established duty to the king. Mawe has given us much interesting information as to the manner of working the different mines. It appears that their produce has much diminished, at least, there are none now worked that produce gold in such astonishing abundance as the mines of Villa Rica. They are scattered over a prodigious extent of country, and are found chiefly imbedded in the sands of rivers. Notwithstanding the wonderful enterprise and activity of the Paulistas, who traversed so much of this country during the seventeenth century, in pursuit of gold mines and Indian slaves, it must be considered as still but imperfectly explored. One of the most extraordinary mines ever discovered in Brazil, remains at this day a subject of curious speculation among the inhabitants of that country; the discoverer, Buenos, an enterprising Paulista, on his return to it with implements and negroes, was, by various circumstances diverted from his course, when he accidentally fell on the mines of Goyaz where he remained. His son, afterwards, with the assistance of his father's journal, endeavoured to find the place, but in vain. The present produce of the gold mines is, about five hundred arrobas, the arroba estimated at thirty-two pounds, each fourteen ounces, which may be considered equal to about three millions and a half of dollars; one fifth of which goes to the king. The diamond mines are entirely under monopoly and severe restrictions, being worked exclusively on account of government; their produce is estimated at seven or eight hundred thousand dollars. The diamonds of the king of Brazil are valued at three millions sterling; he has in his possession the largest in the world, but they are not supposed equal to those of the Indies in point of bril-

liancy. It is somewhat surprising, that no silver mines of any great productions have yet been discovered in his territories. Some silver, it is said, was found at an early period, in the possession of the Indians on the Parana, who, being seen by the only Spanish adventurers, they gave the name of Rio de La Plata to the river in which it discharges itself. Considering the connexion, which no doubt exists between the mountains of Brazil and those of Peru, it is somewhat strange, that this metal has not been met with in greater abundance. Brazil, however, possesses great quantities of iron ore, which is said to be equal to any in the world. To make a rough estimate, I should say that the exports of the whole of Brazil, exceed twenty millions of dollars.

The amount of imports, I presume, is about equal to the exports. They consist chiefly in English manufactured goods of every kind; but the balance is considerably against Portugal, which for a century past has been thrown into the back ground by the advantages which the English have gained in the trade with the colonies. On the opening of the trade with Brazil, the market was immediately glutted, as well as injudiciously supplied with articles not suited to it. The losses experienced by the British merchants, was a subject of serious complaint, but was doubtless ultimately beneficial, from its tendency to increase the demand and consumption. The Brazils afford a growing market of vast importance to England. The trade of the United States with this country, is comparatively inconsiderable,* but will gradually increase. We already supply them with heavy

* The following is the number of vessels which entered Bahia, in 1817. British vessels, sixty-nine; American, thirty; French, twelve; other foreigners, eight. Total, one hundred and nineteen.

articles of manufacture, such as household furniture, carriages, &c. to a considerable amount; but our principal articles of export to this country, are flour, salt provisions, tar, staves, and naval stores in general. We possess many advantages for carrying on a kind of circuitous trade with this country, as well as with other parts of South America; first by disposing of our own produce in Europe, purchasing French and German goods, disposing of them in South America, and taking from thence dried beef to the West Indies, or hides and the produce of the south in general, to the United States or Europe. It is not uncommon for American vessels, after disposing of their cargoes at Rio, to go down to Rio Grande, lay in a cargo of dried beef, carry it to Havanna, and there dispose of it for articles suited to the American market. Of late years, it is not uncommon for the people of the northern states, to engage in these trading voyages.

With respect to the government of Brazil, it of course retains the leading features of that established over the colony. At the head of each province there is a captain-general, from which circumstances they are sometimes called capitanias. The camarcas have ouvidores, or judges, for civil affairs. The cities and towns, have camaras, or a senate elected annually; a sort of municipality to which the povasoas and aldeas, are subject for their local concerns; but, for their military affairs, each camarca is divided into districts, and has officers called captain-molro. In civil matters an appeal lies from the camara or senate, to the ouvidores, and from these to the supreme tribunals at Rio Janeiro, called cassa da souplicaçoes, when the subject matter involves an amount exceeding twelve thousand dollars. Each province has also an ouvidore for criminal matters, whose sentences must be confirmed by the relasçoes

excepting in cases of mere correctional punishment. It is not each province which has a court of relasçoa; Rio Janeiro, Bahia, Minas, St. Paul, and Maranham, only, I believe, have these courts, which receive appeals from inferior tribunals of other provinces, according as their jurisdiction respectively are settled by law. The relasçoa of Bahia, for instance, has jurisdiction over the province of Pernambuco. The revenues of the king are derived from the following sources, and considering the amount of the population, it is scarce surpassed by any other country. 1. A fifth upon all gold obtained in any part of Brazil, which amounts to seven or eight hundred thousand dollars, and the produce of the diamond mines about the same. 2. Duty, fifteen per cent. on all merchandise entered at the custom house. 3. A tax on exports. 4. The tythes which the king of Portugal became entitled to, in the same manner as the king of Spain; as also to the proceeds of the sale of indulgences, under the same grant from the pope. 5. A duty on merchandise entering the mining districts, payable to the different barriers or registers. Besides these, there are other taxes on spirituous liquors, on house rents, and paper money peculiar to the mine districts, which has been issued to the amount of an hundred thousand pounds. The whole amount is probably between five and six millions of dollars, which together with the surplus revenues of Portugal, scarcely suffices to defray the expenses of the government. The royal domains, like our public lands, will one day or other furnish sources of immense revenue. The government had long been sensible of the great error committed by the extensive grants of land to the nobility, or persons of distinction. These grants must throw great obstacles in the way of improvement of some of the most valuable districts. Should the king, however,

pursue a different policy, and select certain tracks of country to be laid off in the same manner as the public lands in the United States, and to be sold to individuals on advantageous terms, it would not be long before he would reap the advantages of such a system.

The military force of Brazil, is composed of between twenty and thirty thousand regulars, distributed over an immense extent of country, besides the militia, which is not very well armed or disciplined. The regulars are composed of native Brazilians, Indians, and negroes, the two latter forming a considerable proportion. Where men are wanted for an emergency, or when it is necessary to fill up the ranks, impressment is resorted to from among the lower classes of people, in the same manner as the British impress their seamen. Their pay is trifling, and term of service indefinite.

The navy consists of several ships of the line, eight or ten frigates, and a number of light vessels of war.

The emigrant from almost any country in Europe, in moderate circumstances, would better his fortune by removing to Brazil. But the American, educated in the ideas of a government so different from those which fit a man to live under a monarchy, would find himself exposed to many vexations. An American who has been accustomed to a liberty apparently without control, who knows not what it is to be eternally hedged with bayonets, or to meet at every step with the display of military power, would find his situation extremely irksome. The frowns of haughty lordlings, the abuses and oppressions practised by persons, dressed in a little "brief authority," must either keep his mind continually disturbed, or break down his *spirit*. There are so many restraints on personal liberty, and so much naked steel to enforce them, that he feels a repugnance to take

a single step, through fear of having his pride wounded by some insolent mercenary wretch, who thinks himself privileged to be a tyrant. Those who are minutely acquainted with the ways of the country, may possibly steer clear of the like mortifications, to which the stranger must inevitably be exposed. How different from this is our country, where the coercive power of the government is so studiously concealed, and where the laws and the force of public opinion, are infinitely more powerful than all the bayonets of despotism! The stranger who lands on our happy soil, carries within his own breast the guide of his actions—a guide which will enable him with confidence to avoid giving offence, or incur displeasure, by following the golden rule, of "doing unto others as he would that others should do unto him." By simply following this rule, he may go wheresoever he pleases, say what he pleases, do what he pleases, without fear of being arrested on malicious suspicions, or of having his property torn from him by despotic avarice.

This question has suggested itself to me, what difference would have been made in our character and condition, had it been our fortune to have been placed in this country, instead of the one which we possess? Would the germs of liberty have taken root in this soil, and flourished as they have done in a more rigid climate, where necessity urged to a more laborious and enterprising life? Would those principles of liberty, carried with them by the colonists, from a stock which had been maturing for ages, have withered when transplanted into this fertile soil, and under this warm sun? Or would that liberty which is so much prized, have lost her dominion in a country, whose rivers flow over beds of diamonds, and whose sands are gold? The different result in the same situations on different people,

is exemplified in the conquest and possession of a part of this country by the Dutch. Pernambuco is the most populous province of Brazil, and has the most extensive exports; and this may be accounted for, by the simple fact of its having been in the possession of a free and industrious people! With the Dutch, commerce and agriculture were honourable arts; not so with the Spaniards or Portuguese, who thought of nothing but running about in search of mines, or attempting to reduce to slavery, the very people whose country they had violently seized. The first thing that a free English population would have thought of, would in all probability have been, the cultivation of the earth, and the navigation of the seas; the discovery of gold mines would have been the last. Would the working of gold mines have proved more detrimental to our national character, than those of tin or copper?

It is difficult to say, what would have been the effects on a people, of the habits and character of those who settled the United States. I am far from being convinced, that climate alone would have been sufficient to make the difference in favour of our country. Perhaps what would be most to be feared, would be, that our motive for exertion might not be the same, from the greater facilities of obtaining the first necessaries of life. But would this be the case among men habituated to free government, and therefore anxious to rise? A motive in itself sufficient for every exertion, in order to better their condition. The Brazilians have hitherto shewn little activity in commerce, or industry in agriculture; but has not this been owing to the nature of the government under which they were bred, and to the colonial restrictions? To what other cause can we attribute the poverty and wretchedness of the lower classes of people, in countries where they are surrounded

by the means of creating an abundance? Yet even since the colonial restrictions have been taken off, an evident improvement in their condition is beginning to be seen. As a further proof that the climate does not necessarily relax the springs of industry and enterprise, we may cite the restless expeditions of the Paulistas through the interior, while engaged in their laborious search of mines. An activity, it must be confessed, that might have been much more usefully directed. Their example gave rise to a dangerous spirit of gaming and speculation. A most seducing temptation was held out by the success of a few, for others to engage in similar undertakings, to the neglect of what would be attended with more certainty for themselves, and at the same time be more generally beneficial. Precious metals are not obtained without great expense and risk, even to the individual who is successful; but to the community, the expense is enormously disproportionate, on account of the numbers who engage in the pursuit and prove unfortunate. A spirit of gaming, takes the place of the sober plans of industry. The earth is not cultivated, no manufactures are established, commerce is on the lowest footing, and the country continues for centuries a wilderness. So evident was the injurious effect of this spirit on the colonies, that it was even recommended by some ministers, to prohibit the working of mines entirely.* But for this intoxicating effect, there is no reason why industry employed in the preparation of the precious metals, should be more injurious than when employed in manufactures. It is apt to entice away from every other pursuit, and a country must always be in a state of great dependence upon all others, when possessed of but one branch of

* Travels in Portugal by the Duke de Chatelet, vol. i. p. 217.

industry. Even here there is a difference between the monopoly of industry by the mining business, and the situation of a country compelled by necessity to confine itself to one pursuit; in the latter case, it is necessity alone which will induce it to do so; for if possessed of any other resources or capacities, there is no danger of their being despised or neglected; but where the precious metals form the staple commodity, their seductive influence will be such as to monopolize every attention.

Considering the wonderful variety and value of the products of Brazil, the possession of mines was perhaps more injurious than beneficial. Southey informs us, that it was proved by experiments nearly a century ago, that the spices of the Indies, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg, could be naturalized in this happy climate. Their cultivation was suggested at the time as a mode of undermining the power of the Dutch. The sugar, coffee, and cotton of Brazil, can be transported as cheaply to Europe as from the West Indies, or the United States. Brazil has no competitor with respect to its valuable woods, of which there is the most wonderful variety, adapted to cabinet work and ship building.* The oak wood and cedar, are equal to any in the world; Brazil excels all other countries in the facilities for building vessels; an art which is rapidly improving here. The valuable fisheries on the coast and the coasting trade, daily increasing, will in time, furnish seamen to navigate an immense navy.

* Mr Hill, our consul at St. Salvador, presented commodore Sinclair with upwards of a hundred specimens equal in beauty to any I ever saw.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Rio—Provinces of St. Paul, St. Catherine, and Rio Grande—Island of Flores—Arrival at Monte Video.

HAVING no further business at this port, and the ship being supplied with every thing necessary for the prosecution of the voyage to La Plata, the commodore announced his intention to put to sea. It had previously been intended to proceed to St. Catherine's, for the purpose of procuring a tender to ascend the Plata. The great draft of water of the Congress, (upwards of twenty-two feet,) rendered it impossible to carry her up to Buenos Ayres. Besides, the season of *pamperos*, or south-west winds, was approaching, and from the known dangers and difficulties of the navigation, the commodore felt a reluctance to run a greater risk than was absolutely unavoidable. Partly, however, in compliance with the wishes of the commissioners, and partly in consequence of an understanding with captain Hickey of the Blossom, who was also bound for the river, he changed his original intention, and resolved to go directly to Monte Video, and there procure the necessary vessel. The Blossom drawing much less water, and her commander having some acquaintance with the river, it was thought that being in company with him, would be an advantage of some importance.

An occurrence took place some days previous to our sailing, of somewhat an unpleasant nature, and as some notice has been taken of it in the public prints,

it may be proper to give a statement of the circumstances. One of the seamen, who had served as interpreter to the watering parties, or other purposes on shore, had taken advantage of the opportunity to stray from his companions, whether for the purpose of frolicking, or of desertion it was not known. The day after, however, two of our lieutenants, (Ramsey and Berry,) accidentally met him in the street, and ordered him to his duty, to which he seemed to submit, alleging as an excuse for his fault, that he had been intoxicated. Intending to see him embark in the boat, they proceeded with him some distance, when he suddenly attempted to escape, and was seized by one of the lieutenants. He cried out for help, declaring himself a Portuguese subject, and that he had been impressed. A pair of soldiers happening to be near, interfered, rescued the seaman, and at his request carried him to the admiral of the port. The officers without knowing where they were taking him to, followed close after, in order that they might be able to report the circumstance satisfactorily to their commander. As the subsequent part of this affair is explained in the correspondence, with which the commodore has politely furnished me, to this I shall refer the reader, simply observing, that the commodore's letter was drawn forth by a request on the part of our minister; to be informed of the particulars. The first letter it will be seen, is from the Portuguese minister of state, to Mr. Sumpter.

February 3d, 1818.

The undersigned,

Has received orders from the king, his master, to communicate to the minister of the United

States, the irregular and offensive conduct, with which, on the 2d of this month, two officers and two midshipmen of the frigate Congress, now lying at anchor in this port, proceeded to attempt to carry on board of the said frigate, a Portuguese sailor, who had left her to enter into the service of his own king in this capital. In the prosecution of their object, they forced the dwelling-house of the major-general of the royal marines, the vice-admiral Ignacia da Corta Quintilla, pretending to retake and conduct him on board by force, which, however, they did not succeed in doing, in consequence of the prudent exertions used by this general officer. Such an insult cannot fail to deserve a serious reprehension, and a satisfaction such as ought to be expected in such a case; and his majesty hopes that the minister of the United States will take such measures on it, that those officers shall be properly reprehended for this act of excess, and that the commander of the frigate will set at liberty the Portuguese sailors which are on board, and who desire, as it is their duty to do, to return to the service of their king and country. The undersigned is well persuaded, that the minister of the United States will acknowledge the moderation with which his majesty has acted in this case, and will be ready to render that competent satisfaction which is claimed.

(Signed,)

THOMAS ANTONIA VILLA NOVA de PORTUGAL.

Palace of Rio Janeiro.

February 4th, 1818.

The minister plenipotentiary of the United States, has the honour to inform his excellency Thomas An-

tonia Villa Nova de Portugal, &c. &c. that having received the complaint addressed to him yesterday evening respecting the proceedings of some officers and midshipmen of the frigate Congress, in endeavouring to recover a deserter on shore, who represents himself to be a Portuguese subject, and desirous to serve his own country rather than any other, he will take an early opportunity of inquiring into the facts of the case, after which he will be enabled to answer his excellency in form, and he hopes satisfactorily.

The minister of the United States profits by this occasion to renew to his excellency the assurance of his high respect and consideration.

UNITED STATES' SHIP CONGRESS.

Rio Janeiro, Feb. 6th, 1818.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your note of the 4th inst. containing a translation of the Portuguese minister's statement of an affair which took place on the 2d inst. between two of the lieutenants of this ship and some officers of the Portuguese government.

So far as relates to that part of the minister's note, complaining of insults offered to a major-general and an admiral in the service of the King of the Brazils, I can safely assure you that none could possibly have been intended, as these young men, on whose assertions I place the most implicit reliance, declare, that being perfectly strangers in the place, and not understanding the language of the country, they were involuntarily led by a guard to the house of one or both of those gentlemen, from the desire of not losing sight of the seaman belonging to their boat, until they saw where he was deposited. That they did not

know into whose presence they were ushered, neither of the above officers being in uniform; nor was it known to them until they were treated with great violence, contumely, and gross abuse: one of my officers having his hat snatched off his head, at the moment when inadvertently he had put it on, according to the custom of our country, when about to retire, and one of the Portuguese officers before mentioned, clenching his fist in the face of the other, while they were both threatened with personal violence, at the same time that they were permitted to be insulted by a mob, which the Portuguese officers did not attempt to repress.

The instructions received from my government, independently of my own sense of propriety, when seeking refreshment in a friendly port, most positively forbid my pursuing any course of conduct, which might be offensive to any individual of the country, much less, that I should knowingly suffer any thing like insult to be offered to the constituted authority of that country. I had with great confidence hoped, that the strict etiquette I had uniformly observed since my arrival, would have forbidden the possibility of my being even thought capable of acting otherwise than in conformity to these regulations. I had, with equal confidence believed, that the character of American officers for politeness, etiquette, strict subordination, and respect to officers superior or inferior in rank, of all nations, was sufficiently well established to have equally forbidden the belief for a moment, that they would knowingly have offered an insult to officers of the grade above alluded to, sooner than they would tamely receive abuse or insult, if in their power to redress it.

In compliance with your request, and to satisfy you that the cause of complaint lies on the side of my

government, I will give you a brief statement of the affair as it happened. With respect to the seaman, whom the Portuguese minister is pleased to call a *deserter*, the penalties of our laws prohibiting the enlistment of any but American seamen in our naval service, are too severe to admit a doubt, that we should knowingly receive any that are not of this description, on board our ships of war. And if any to appearance should not be such, the fact is well known of our having within our own territory, people of every origin, and speaking almost every language of Europe, particularly since the acquisition of Louisiana, formerly belonging to Spain, and whose inhabitants have become citizens of the United States, by treaty; it therefore does not follow as a necessary consequence, that such are not Americans. From the circumstance of this ship having been stationed in that quarter, and having recruited a number of men resident in the ceded territory before mentioned, some of whom speak the Spanish and Portuguese, I am under the impression that the seaman in question is of that description. All I know with certainty is, that he enlisted as an American, and I shall feel myself bound to consider him as such, until satisfied of the contrary, of which no evidence has been exhibited to me, and from his speaking our language, without the slightest foreign accent, I am induced to believe, that if not a native of the United States, he is at least a native of Louisiana.

The man was taken on shore by some of the officers of the ship, to serve them as interpreter, from whom he strayed off, and, as he stated to my officers, who afterwards accidentally met him in the street, had been intoxicated. By our laws, he could not be regarded as a deserter, not having been absent a sufficient length of time for that purpose—he was considered as a de-

linquent from duty, and as such, was ordered to the boat. To this order he at first submitted, and was proceeding on his way, the officers before mentioned considering it their duty to bring him on board, when he was forcibly taken from them in the manner above stated.

I cannot admit that my authority over my own men, who have voluntarily enlisted in the service, and received the bounty of my government, ceases while on shore on the duty of the ship. If under the necessity of calling in the civil authority in all cases of delinquency, in disobedience of orders, it would be absolutely impossible for us to suffer our boats to leave the ship while in foreign ports.

Such I believe to be a correct statement of the case. It is a case, in which my officers while engaged in compelling one of my men to do his duty, he was forcibly taken from them, and themselves grossly abused; where, instead of securing the man, that his claim to liberation, if he had any, might be properly investigated by some civil tribunal, he was taken by a military guard before military officers, (who could not even be known as such to strangers, by any uniform they wore) and then at once discharged, or rather, as I am informed, taken into the service of his majesty the king of the Brazils, while my officers were treated in a most unbecoming and ungentlemanly manner.

I consider it my duty, therefore, to demand the man in question, as an American seaman, regularly enlisted and paid as such, on the books of this ship; forcibly and irregularly taken out of my possession, by the officers of his majesty, the king of the Brazils; unless satisfactory proof can be exhibited, of his being a native subject of his majesty. In which event, you will act as the laws of the country in which you reside, and

your sense of what is due to your own country may dictate. After the manifest disposition I have evinced, of my desire to treat with marked respect, every constituted authority of this government, I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to the dignity of the nation I represent, were I not to dwell upon the insult offered to my country, in the abuse of two officers bearing her commission, while in the lawful and regular exercise of their duty, and require that redress adequate to the abuse be given.'

With respect to the general demand of the Portuguese minister, for the surrender of all Portuguese subjects who may be on board this ship, it is of so extraordinary a nature, that until it assumes a more definite and specific shape, I have only to reply, under present circumstances, that the flag of my country protects every man in the ship, which I have the honour to command.

I have the honour to remain,
with high respect, Sir,
your obedient servant,
(Signed,) A. SINCLAIR.

The affair had been buzzed abroad through the city, and was no doubt represented very unfavourably, as to the part taken in it by our officers. The jealous and unfriendly disposition we had at first remarked, among those generally collected at the common lounging place, was evidently heightened, and studiously displayed in their looks. It became unpleasant for us to go on shore, from the apprehension of being exposed to insult, and the commodore laid his injunctions on the two lieutenants to remain on board. But the most disagreeable circumstance, was the singular demand made by the Portuguese minister, of all the Portu-

guese seamen on board the Congress; thus taking it for granted, that there were such. It is probable, that this was founded upon the statement of the deserter, who would naturally enough be inclined to ingratiate himself with his new friends, by inventing such stories, as he supposed would feed their antipathies to us.* But it is surprising, that there should have been so little decency and good sense in the minister, as to make a formal and unqualified demand, without previous inquiry or investigation. The names, or at least the numbers, of the pretended Portuguese seamen, ought to have been given. When properly considered, the manner in which the demand was made from a national vessel, was in itself a gross insult, and as such, properly resented. Mr. Sumpter suggested the propriety of waiting a few days, until the affair could be terminated; but being on the eve of departure, and it being uncertain what length of time would be necessary for its adjustment, the commodore determined to depart, without paying any further attention to the affair. On the evening previous to departure, some of our officers who had been on shore on business, received an intimation, that an attempt would be made to prevent the Congress from sailing, and compel her to surrender the seamen, whom the minister's imagination had conjured on board. The commodore was now determined to attempt to pass the forts at all hazards,

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* There is but little doubt, the foolish fellow has long since had ample cause of repentance. He forfeited his pay, amounting to several hundred dollars, and as his term of service had nearly expired, he would have been discharged on the return of the Congress; instead of this, he is now *provided for during life*, unless he has the good luck to desert.

Accordingly, next morning, a pilot having come on board, the Congress weighed anchor, and stood out with a light breeze, the men called to quarters, and the matches lighted, determined to give Santa Cruz a broadside or two, at least, before she could sink us. As we neared the fort, we were overtaken by a boat, which had been rowed swiftly, and having on board a Portuguese officer. We waited for some moments with anxious suspense, to know the object of his mission, but were soon relieved, on being informed that his visit was only in compliance with the usual ceremony, of boarding every vessel about to leave the port, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether any, and what passengers, had been taken; having made these inquiries, the officer retired, apparently with some surprise and agitation, at the preparations on board the Congress. It is unnecessary to say, that we passed the fort without molestation, and soon after had a fine breeze, which enabled us towards evening, to overtake captain Hickey, although he had had several hours start of us.

From the ninth of February, the day of our departure, until the fifteenth, nothing material occurred in our voyage; we had generally a fair wind, but were considerably detained by the slow sailing of the Blossom. The Congress was obliged to be stripped of most of her canvas, so as to keep company with the British ship, which was probably one of the dullest sailors in their navy. We now experienced, in latitude thirty-three degrees, thirty-five minutes, a head wind, which continued from the same point until the nineteenth. We had also to contend with a current, which along this coast, always sets with the wind. During these four days, we made about a hundred miles by beating; and in latitude thirty-three degrees, thirty-nine mi-

nutes south, stood into nine fathoms water, hard sand, the water very thick and yellow. We could at this time just discern from deck, the low broken sand hills along this part of the coast. The commodore observed, that he would not think it advisable to stand in nearer than twelve or thirteen fathoms soundings, as every cast of the lead varies several fathoms; he ventured to act differently, only from the circumstance of there being another vessel sounding a-head.

We made Cape St. Mary's on the nineteenth, and were abreast of the island of Lobos, at twelve o'clock of that night. The next morning at eleven o'clock, we were compelled to come to anchor in nineteen fathoms, below this island, having been drifted at least twenty miles during a calm which ensued, and which, on account of the great draught of the Congress, operated more powerfully on her than on the Blossom; this vessel was now out of sight. Having run down twelve or thirteen hundred miles of the Brazilian coast, I shall avail myself of the opportunity, to give the reader a few sketches of the provinces along which we passed.

Next to the province of Rio Janeiro, on the coast, comes that of St. Paul, which stretches along it about four hundred miles, and is about five hundred in depth. It is bounded to the west by the great river Parana, which separates it from the Spanish province of Paraguay. On the south it is bounded by the Iguazu, and a line drawn from this river to the small river St. Francisco, and down to its mouth. It is one of the most fertile and delightful provinces of South America. The great range of mountains which here runs close along the coast, on the western side, is a vast inclined plain, down which some of the largest branches of the Parana flow into that immense river. The western

slope is so gentle as scarcely to be perceptible, and although not level, it can hardly be considered hilly or mountainous. On the eastern side, the ascent is very steep; the road from Santos to St. Paul, ascends a mountain six thousand feet high, and is perhaps the most considerable work of this description in Brazil. From this point, however, in following the mountains to the southward, they gradually retire from the coast, leaving a broken country between them and the sea, through which the Paraiba of the south takes its course. Between these mountains and the coast, an extraordinary number of cataracts and cascades are formed, by the waters which are precipitated down the eastern side. The navigation of the rivers on the western side, is also impeded by a great number of falls and rapids; but the intervals between the portages, are navigated by large perogues, such as are used on our western waters, made out of the single trunks of trees, of which there is an abundance on their banks, of a prodigious size. The river Tiete, which rises near the city of St. Paul, is generally used as the channel of communication to the mines of Matto Grosso. After descending to the Parana, they continue down its stream to the mouth of the Pardo, which enters from the west, and up this river to the foot of a chain of mountains, which they cross to the river Taquari, which flows into the river Paraguay, above the Spanish possessions. The inhabitants of St. Paul took advantage of this route at an early period, for the purpose of committing depredations on the numerous Indian tribes settled on that river.

The climate is probably the most pleasant in Brazil. Though nearer the equator than the provinces of La Plata, the disadvantage is more than counterbalanced by its height; the commencement of the slope is six

thousand feet above the sea, and two thousand feet above the inferior limit for the cultivation of European grain. The thermometer descends as low as forty, though it rarely rises above eighty. In the evenings, it is sometimes so cold as to render necessary a change of clothes, and to make use of *brazeros*.* In the vicinity of the capital, the tropical fruits are not in as great perfection as they are on the sea coast, but in lieu of these, all the European fruits, apples, grapes, peaches, are uncommonly fine. This delightful country may be considered as still in a state of wilderness, and inhabited by a number of savage tribes towards the Parana, who are continually at war with the Portuguese, and retain the same ferocity as when the country was first settled. They must finally disappear before the march of civilization.

The principal port is Santos, said to be safe and commodious, but being merely the entrepot to St. Paul, as Laguira is to Caraccas, the town is inconsiderable. The inhabitants of St. Paul are spoken of as the most hospitable and polished in Brazil, which may seem somewhat extraordinary, considering their origin and their character half a century ago. The history of those people occupies one of the most conspicuous pages in American annals; their character has been variously represented, and generally little to their advantage. Charlevoix, and all the Jesuits, represent them in the most unfavourable light, and they have been spoken of by most writers, as barbarians, possessing enough of civilization to render them formidable, as well as mischievous. They have been also represented, as

* A kind of pan filled with embers, used by Spaniards and Portuguese, instead of fire-places and chimnies.

forming a kind of military republic, like that of early Rome, composed of outcasts and adventurers from all countries, under a nominal subjection to the Portuguese, in virtue of which, they paid a small tribute of gold and diamonds. A Portuguese writer has undertaken to vindicate their character from these imputations. Mawe, who is among the few Englishmen who have visited their capital, speaks of them in the highest terms, and seems indignant at the calumnies which have been circulated respecting them. He places them above all the people he saw in Brazil, for their highly polished manners, and manly frankness of character, traits, by which they are every where distinguished; but he does not reflect, that a century, or even half a century, might produce a very material change in their character.* The accounts given of these people, as well as of their enemies the Jesuits, by Southey, is certainly the most fair and satisfactory.

The celebrated republic of St. Paul, as it is usually denominated, had its rise about the year 1531, from a very inconsiderable beginning. A mariner of the name of Ramalho, having been shipwrecked on this part of the coast, was received among a small Indian tribe called the Piratininga, after the name of their chief. Here he was found by De Sousa, some years afterwards, and, contrary to the established policy, of permitting no settlement excepting immediately on the

* The author of the Corographia comes nearer the truth. *As Paulistas de hoje passam por uma boa gente; mas seus avangos nao o foram certamente.* The Paulistas of the present day, pass for a very good people, which was certainly not the case with respect to their ancestors.

sea coast, he allowed this man to remain, on account of his having intermarried and having a family. The advantages of this establishment were such, that permission was soon after given to others to settle here, and as the adventurers intermarried with the natives, their numbers increased rapidly. Romalho also allied himself with one of the chief of the Goaynazes by marrying his daughter; for it seems he had conformed to the Indian custom of polygamy. A mixed race was formed, possessing a compound of civilized and uncivilized manners and customs. The Jesuits soon after established themselves with a number of Indians they had reclaimed, and exerted a salutary influence in softening and humanizing the growing colony. In 1581, the seat of government was removed from St. Vincent on the coast to St. Pauls; but its subjection to Portugal was little more than nominal; cut of from all communication, and almost inaccessible, but little notice was taken of it. The mixture produced an improved race; "the European spirit of enterprise," says Southey, "developed itself in constitutions adapted to the country." But it is much more likely, that the free and popular government which they enjoyed, produced the same fruits here as in every other country; a restless spirit of enterprise and emulation among each other; the mother of great qualities, but without a well ordered government, the good was not likely to outweigh the bad. They soon quarrelled with the Jesuits, on account of the Indians whom they had reduced to slavery. The Jesuits declaimed against the practice; but as there were now many wealthy families, among the Paulistas, the greater part of whose fortunes consisted in their Indians, it was not heard with patience. The Paulistas first engaged in war against the enemies of their allies, and afterwards on their

own account, on finding it advantageous. They established a regular trade with the other provinces whom they supplied with Indian slaves. They by this time acquired the name of *Mamelukes*, from the peculiar military discipline they adopted, bearing some resemblance to the Mamelukes of Egypt.

The revolution in Portugal, when Philip II. of Spain placed himself on its throne, cast the Paulistas in a state of independence, as they were the only settlement of Brazil, which did not acknowledge the new dynasty. From the year 1580, until the middle of the following century, they may be regarded as a republic, and it was during this period they displayed that active and enterprising character for which they were so much celebrated. They discovered and worked the gold mines of Jaragua near St. Pauls; they established colonies in the interior at the numerous mines which they discovered; and their exploring parties were sometimes absent for years, engaged in wandering over this vast country. While a Spanish king occupied the throne of Portugal, they attacked the Spanish settlements on the Paraguay, alleging that the Spaniards were encroaching on their territory, and destroyed the Spanish towns of Villa Rica, Ciudad Real, and Villa de Xerez, besides a number of smaller settlements. They attacked the Jesuit missions, which by the most extraordinary perseverance, after repeated trials during a hundred years, had been at last established. As they had fixed themselves east of the Parana, the Paulistas laid hold of this as a pretext. They carried away upwards of two thousand of their Indians into captivity, the greater part of whom were sold and distributed as slaves. The Jesuits complained to the king of Spain and to the pope; the latter fulminated his excommunication. The Paulistas attacked the Jesuits in

their college, and put their principal to death, expelled the remainder, and set up a religion of their own; at least no longer acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. In consequence of the interruption of the African trade during the Dutch war, the demand for Indian slaves was very much increased. The Paulistas redoubled their exertions, and traversed every part of the Brazils in armed troops, to the great terror of the Indians; who were on some of the principal rivers numerous, and established in villages. The foundation was laid of enmity to the Portuguese, which continues to this day, although a complete stop was put to the infamous practice in the year 1756.

This little republic like all others, was continually distracted by internal factions. Two families, the Piratiningo and the Thaubatenos, were continually struggling for a monopoly of power, and at one time actually engaged in a civil war; but a reconciliation was brought about by the interposition of some ecclesiastics, who proposed that the governor should be alternately elected from the members of the rival families. This continued for nearly a century. When the house of Braganza in 1640, ascended the throne, the Paulistas instead of acknowledging him, conceived the idea of electing a king for themselves.* They actually elected

* Every thing facilitated such a revolution. Their habits of obedience to any legitimate authority hung loosely about them and might easily be shaken off. There was but one road whereby they could be attacked, and this, which was difficult for a single traveller, for an army would be inaccessible. They might defend themselves merely by rolling down stones if they were attacked; while on the other hand the whole interior was open to their enterprise. The promoters of this scheme easily induced the people to join in it with enthusiasm, and if they could have found a leader to their wish, it is more

a distinguished citizen of the name of Bueno, who persisted in refusing to accept, upon which, they were induced to acknowledge Joam IV. It was not until long afterwards, that they came under the Portuguese government. The history of these people is doubtless replete with interesting incidents; such is always the case with an independent nation, and especially if republican. The important part they have acted in South America, and their connexion with the history of La Plata, have induced me to take this notice of them.

The next province to St. Paul is that of Rio Grande.* It is about five hundred miles in length, and three hundred in depth, according to the treaty of 1778, which excludes the Banda Oriental, but which is claimed in Portuguese books of geography. The Uruguay has its sources in the province to the west of St. Catherine's, and flows several hundred miles through it before entering the Banda Oriental. It is an inclined plain like the province of St. Paul, but more level; it has a considerable ridge of mountains which separates the waters of the Rio Negro, the main branch of the Uruguay, from the streams which fall into the lake dos Patos. The climate is mild, but during winter a good deal exposed to the south west winds. The greater part of the country to the southward, bordering on the Banda Oriental, consists of extensive grassy plains, and is almost exclusively devoted to pasturage. Agriculture is comparatively but little attended to, although the soil is extremely well adapted to grain of every kind.

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than probable that the Paulistas would have become an independent people, who would soon have made themselves the most formidable in South America."—*Southey, vol. 2, p. 327.*

† St. Catherine is usually considered a distinct province, but erroneously.

The island of St. Catherine, in the northern part of this district, is a place of considerable note. The harbour is one of the best along the coast. The town contains about ten thousand inhabitants, and is beautifully situated. The surrounding country is very fine, and in a better state of cultivation and improvement, than is usual in Brazil. From the abundant supply of wood, water, and stores of every kind, it is a very common stopping place. Few places offer greater advantages for ship building. The country and climate are so delightful, that many persons come here from other provinces, in order to regain their health; and gentlemen of fortune sometimes choose it as an agreeable residence. Formerly there was a very important whale fishery here; but of late years the whales have very much diminished in numbers along this coast. Commodore Porter, who touched at this place in his cruise, speaks of it in the following manner:—"The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town in a state of considerable improvement. But nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catherine's and the continent; there is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around; shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summits with trees which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it in appearance the most delightful country in the world."

We had at length reached the yawning estuary of La Plata, whose width estimated from the Cape St. Mary's to Cape St. Antonio on the southern side, is one hundred and fifty miles. It would perhaps be

more proper to give this great opening the name of bay or gulf. Its waters though not fresh, are much discoloured, but not much affected by the tides above Buenos Ayres. Except the isle of Lobos, which can hardly be considered in its channel, there are no islands but that of Goriti, which forms the harbour of Maldonado, and the isle of Flores about fifty miles above. There are, however, a considerable number of islands above Buenos Ayres, where the river properly begins; at the mouth of the Uruguay there is the island of Martin Garcia, and at the entrance of the Parana there are a great many islands of various sizes. Rio La Plata here loses its name; it is in fact, properly speaking but a bay or gulf, into which the Uruguay and Parana discharge themselves. It was originally called the *river of Solis*, from the name of its first discoverer; but was changed by Cabot, who defeated a party of Indians on its borders, and among whom he found some silver ornaments, from which he was induced to believe, that there were mines of this metal in the vicinity. The entrance of this river was formerly considered extremely dangerous and difficult, but since it has been frequented by the English, it has become much better known, and the dangers have in consequence diminished as far as an acquaintance with the situation and nautical skill can diminish them. But there are still serious dangers to be encountered, and which are beyond the power of man to obviate. The principal, perhaps, is the south-west wind, which blows during the winter months, May, June, July, and August, with dreadful violence, while the harbours on its shores afford but a very imperfect security. On the north side, the shore is rocky and dangerous; on the south it is flat, and the water extremely shoal; the channel is therefore on the north side, between

what is called the English bank and the island of Flores, about ten miles in width; the largest vessels may pass with little danger unless the wind be very violent. Between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, the navigation is still more difficult on account of what is called Ortiz banks, which render the channel narrow and intricate. These banks consist of hard sand, and it is almost as dangerous for vessels to strike upon them as to strike upon a rock; but the channel is generally of soft mud, in which a vessel may sink several inches without experiencing any injury.*

The afternoon of the 20th the anchor was weighed, and the Congress proceeded up the river, but came to anchor about ten o'clock at night, being apprehensive of approaching too near the island of Flores on the one hand, and the English bank on the other. We made sail at day-light, but the wind slackening and a strong current setting downwards, we again anchored within a few miles of Flores. On the main land from Maldonado to this place, we were continually in sight of a range of high hills, in places rising to considerable peaks, but not deserving the name of mountains. With our spy-glasses we could discover a vast number of seals moving about on the island, or lying upon the naked rocks, by which it is surrounded. As it was

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* The pamphlet of Captain Haywood, an English officer, contains many excellent observations. While the commissioners were at Buenos Ayres, Commodore Sinclair and the officers of the Congress, occupied themselves in acquiring an acquaintance with the dangerous navigation of this river, in which so many vessels have been wrecked. I have in my possession a copy of a memoir, accompanied with a chart, drawn up by Commodore Sinclair, which would be highly useful to persons navigating this river.

now a perfect calm, and the weather delightful, a number of us resolved to make an attack upon the island, and possess ourselves of a few of the skins of its inhabitants, not as warlike trophies, but for the purpose of making caps, saddle housings, or stuffing them for museums. Our approach to shore was attended with some difficulty on account of the surf which never ceases to dash upon the rocks. The roaring of the sea, was emulated by the noise of the seals, of which we now discovered astonishing numbers. The hoarse roaring of the males, and the bleating of the females and younger seals, bore resemblance to the mingled concert of domestic cattle, cows, calves, and the accompaniment of bleating sheep. Besides thousands upon the shore, there were still greater numbers in the water, some as far out as thirty or forty yards. They were in continual motion, their heads appearing and disappearing, while they incessantly kept up a dreadful noise. As soon as we landed, the seals exerted themselves as fast as they could to get into the water; and considering that they have nothing but a pair of fins a little below the breast, and a long unwieldy body and tail to drag after them, they made very considerable speed. Some of our sailors got between them and the water with clubs, which they had provided, and knocked down a number, a slight blow on the end of the nose being sufficient for this purpose. In those places where water was standing in the hollows of the rock, there were great numbers of young seals huddled together, resembling young whelps, though much larger. The sailors who had been laying about them with indiscriminate fury, assailed these poor creatures, who seemed in a most piteous manner to implore for mercy. Seeing the harmless and inoffensive nature of this race, we were seized with

compassion, hastened to put a stop to the carnage, and resolved to select only a few of those that we thought suited to our purposes. The smell was so offensive, that we were compelled in a short time to return to our boats.

These are of the species called the *ursine* seal. The males are called lions, from the resemblance of the head and mane to that animal, as well as from their hoarse noise. They are often seen with several of their favourite females around them, basking on the rock, but as soon as discovered, they roll themselves into the water. Some of their habits are singular. Each lion, like a grand sultan, has forty or fifty females. They live in distinct families of several hundred. Each family occupies a particular part of the island, upon which none of the others are suffered to encroach; bloody battles sometimes ensue between different families, which frequently involve the whole tribe. A combat sometimes takes place between two males; the one who is vanquished, is abandoned by all his wives, who join the conqueror. The female is delicately formed, with a long tapering neck, and beautiful silvery skin, which glisten on coming out of the water. The old ones, although very uneasy for the safety of their young, will not venture out of the water to their assistance. I observed, in the fissures of the rock, thousands of a small fish about a foot in length, swimming among the young seals, probably attracted by them, and fed upon. The skins of this kind are not of much value; but those of the fur kind on the island of Lobos, fifty miles below, are much esteemed.* The island is about a mile and a half long;

* In the *Semanario* of 1802, there is a notice of the number of skins obtained on the isle of Lobos, by the company authorised by

the sea, when much agitated, dashes over it. We supposed there might be about twenty families on the island, of two hundred each. A lion killed by the commodore, measured ten feet six inches from the nose to the end of the tail, was six feet four inches in girth, and probably weighed at least one thousand pounds.

The calm continued until the afternoon of the next day, when a breeze springing up, the anchor was weighed, and we proceeded up the river. It was not long before we discovered the hill above the town, which gives its name to the place. We next discovered the town at a distance, and the cathedral, the most conspicuous object in it. The frigate came to anchor in four fathoms water, soft mud, the fort on the top of the mount, bearing, by compass, north-west; the cathedral north-east by north, Point Brava, east by north, distant from land a league or upwards.

We could discern a number of vessels lying in the harbour, but chiefly of a small size, excepting a Portuguese frigate, an Indiaman, (which had lately been re-

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the king. The season is from the middle of May until the 3d of November. A complaint is made that the English and Americans, who pursue the sealing business along the coast of Patagonia, pay no attention to the season, in consequence of which the seals are exterminated. The produce of the island, which is not more than a league in length, was seventeen thousand skins, and six hundred barrels of oil.

Our countrymen still pursue the business along the coast. A New England vessel engaged in it, was dashed to pieces by a gale, and the crew arrived at Buenos Ayres about the time of our entering the river; they were in a small vessel constructed from the wreck. One of them, with whom I conversed, described the country as very pleasant, and without any inhabitants.

in strength to that of Africa. It is not many years since three of them swam across the basin and entered the town of Monte Video, to the great terror of its inhabitants, several of whom were killed, or mangled, before the monsters were destroyed.

We were told that the interior of the country for hundreds of miles, possessed the same beauty of surface, and fertility of soil; and although generally well supplied with fine streams, a small proportion of it can be said to be hilly or mountainous; and that in general, there is an abundance of wood along the water courses. On examining the map of Azara, it will appear to be abundantly supplied with fine rivers; it is bounded in its whole extent eight or nine hundred miles on the east by the river Uruguay, which may bear a comparison even with the Rhine or Danube of Europe. This river has also a number of important navigable tributaries, the principal of which are the Ubicuiy, and the Rio Negro, together with several other rivers which discharge themselves either into the Atlantic or La Plata.

While we were gazing with mingled pain and pleasure on this scene, our attention was suddenly attracted, by the report of several muskets, and by the appearance of some horsemen galloping at a distance of about half a mile beyond the lines. These we soon recognized to be a party of *gauchos*, such is the name given to the country people in general, and by which is here understood the partisans of Artigas, as the gauchos are almost to a man on his side. The party was endeavouring to drive off some Portuguese horses, and this they executed with wonderful dexterity; they first started into a gallop the horses which they meant to drive off, and then seemed to give them the direction they pleased, by riding sometimes on one side and sometimes on the

other, or driving before them. The animals on which these half horse, half men, were mounted, seemed to be directed more by the inclination than by the hand of the rider; so excellent is their horsemanship. This scene we were informed was repeated almost every morning, and appeared to be on the part of the *gauchos*, more a matter of sport, than of profit; for horses are so abundant and cheap, that the best can be had for a few dollars; and the owner even sometimes turns his horse loose, to get rid of the expense and trouble of keeping him. The loss of horses however, will probably be felt by the Portuguese, who are confined to a narrow space, which hardly furnishes sufficient pasturage to sustain those they have. We observed them busily engaged in driving in their cattle, so as to be under the protection of the troops stationed at intervals along the line. Within a few hundred yards of us, there appeared to be a body of forty or fifty in a redoubt, who did nothing but gaze on the exploits of the *gauchos*. None went in pursuit of them; a few long shots were fired in hopes to scare them off; such is the sort of siege carried on by what may almost be considered an invisible force. It is a kind of anomaly in military history. The whole number stationed here for the purpose, does not, it is supposed, amount to more than three hundred men, under the command of a chief named Otorguese, appearing and disappearing like the wolves of the plain, and accomplishing their purpose as effectually as if their numbers amounted to five thousand. Thinking ourselves sufficiently near this scene of action, we thought it prudent to turn our horses and ride towards the city.

On our way we passed about a hundred troopers, who were on their return from a foraging party outside of the lines, each one carrying a load of grass on his

horse. These parties have been frequently attacked, and in some instances entirely cut off. The boundless plains of this province, with the dexterity of the native horsemen, the woods on the borders of the rivers, and the peculiarities of the country, render pursuit entirely out of the question. This is in fact the reason why the Portuguese have made little or no progress in its subjugation. No kind of force can be better adapted to defend this country against the present invaders, though otherwise of no great importance, as it cannot be subjected to regular discipline, or be kept any length of time embodied.

The Portuguese have been known to march a body of one or two thousand men, to some inconsiderable village in the interior, but their communication with the main body, in the mean time entirely intercepted, dreadfully harrassed, at every moment losing their cattle and supplies, and on their return, scarcely any traces were left of the track which they pursued. The herdsman's abode has generally been protected by poverty, having no dwelling for the greater part, but a hut built of clay, or formed of raw hides. The population of the country, may be said to live in the plains and on horseback. A Gaucho, with a piece of roasted beef, (which is almost the only food,) tied to his saddle skirt, is amply provided for several days. Here is a singular contrast, with the vast expense at which the Portuguese are compelled to maintain their armies, while Artigas is able to purchase, with a few hides collected from the people, the arms and ammunition which he may require.

I cannot see how it is possible for the Portuguese to make any further progress in the conquest of this country. What difference is there between a march of fifty thousand men and one thousand, over this desert waste? The mildness of the climate is such, that the

natives can live in the open air the whole year round; and the immense herds which roam through the country, furnish them with ample means of subsistence; at the same time that the parties which continually hover round the march of their enemies, deprive them of this resource; they may succeed in breaking up the towns on the river la Plata, such as Maldonado, Monte Video, Colonia, together with villages on the Uruguay, Rio Negro, &c. but many years must roll away before they become peaceably possessed of this country so as to establish colonies.

To those who have lived on the borders of New Spain, and have seen the *Wachinangos*, a description of the Gauchos is scarcely necessary, except that they are one degree further removed from civilization. Their mode of life is something like that of the Arab or Tartar. They are either of a mixed breed, or full blooded Indians, and are remarkably stout and athletic. Those I saw had a most uncouth appearance; their coarse black and bushy hair, caused the head to look three times as big as itself. The missions established on the Parana, especially those of the Jesuits, have contributed to supply the plains with this singular population. The neglect of schools, and the absence of all religious instruction, must prepare the way for their final destruction; like all savages, they must, in the end, yield to the more civilized and enlightened, just as the savage tribes have invariably yielded to the *homo sapiens Europii*. Under the Spanish government, the control over them was very little greater than that which they themselves hold over their roaming herds.

The character of these people given by Azara, with some deductions for the disposition which he seems to manifest, of making rather an unfavourable representation of all classes of Americans, is in the main correct.

He relates a number of anecdotes, which exhibit them in a curious light; and differing, in many respects, very materially, from the herdsmen in other parts of South America. These accounts are confirmed by Mawe, who resided six months amongst them, and had therefore a fair opportunity of forming a correct opinion. It is true, he begins by representing them, for the most part, as "an honest and harmless race, though equally as liable, from the circumstances of their condition, to acquire habits of gambling and intoxication, as the higher classes of the people, numbers of whom fall victims to those seductive vices;" but he afterwards proceeds to give them a very different character, and in a note, relates the following anecdote: "I once observed a party playing in the neighbourhood of a chapel, after mass had been said, when the clergyman came and kicked away the cards, in order to put an end to the game. On this, one of the peons rose up, and retiring a few paces, thus accosted the intruder: Father, I will obey you, as a priest, but (drawing his knife) you must beware how you molest our diversions. The clergyman knew the desperate character of these men too well to remonstrate, and retired very hastily, not a little chagrined." He observes again, that the state of society among them, weakens those ties which naturally attach men to the soil on which they are accustomed to subsist. He also relates a plan which had been concerted between two of the peons, to rob and murder him, under a pretext of assisting him to make his escape, but the plan was fortunately discovered by the person under whose charge and protection he had been placed. In fact, from all the information I could collect, from persons who had a perfect acquaintance with the *peons* or *gauchos*, there seemed to be no difference of opinion, as to their leading characteristics.

And when we consider their origin, and mode of life, it would only be surprising that they should be otherwise. We must reflect, that this is a vast country, almost as thinly inhabited as the extensive plains of the Missouri, in which criminals and fugitives from justice, and deserters from the service, were considered so perfectly safe, that it was thought almost useless to make any attempt to arrest them. The writer just quoted, informs us, "that even in case of murder, the criminal has little to fear, if he can escape to the distance of twenty or thirty leagues; he there lives in obscurity probably for the remainder of his life, without ever being brought to justice." The gauchos are, for the greater part, loose fish who have wandered from the missions, and especially from those of the Jesuits. After the expulsion of the society, their neophytes, who had been placed under the direction of the Franciscans, gradually relapsed towards their former state, and rapidly diminished in numbers. Many withdrew to the neighbouring missions and Spanish settlements, while their intercourse with the Spaniards, introduced amongst them all the vulgar vices. Many of them wandered into the plains, where they could enjoy unbounded liberty, and indulge their propensities. When they chose to engage in any honest occupation, it was that of peons, or herdsmen, whose chief employment was to attend the cattle, and to slaughter them. There were numbers, however, who would engage in no regular occupation, or hire themselves to any one. These sometimes formed themselves into bands, and infested the country, or were employed to assist in smuggling. Some writers speak of a people resembling gypsies, in this country; an idea, which originated, no doubt, from some imperfect account of the gauchos.

One circumstance must have had an important in-

fluence on their characters, which is, the number of males in proportion to that of females, not less than ten to one; few of them having any families, it is natural to expect that they should be in some measure insensible to the softer affections.* Azara relates curious anecdotes of their stealing women, and Mawe tells us, "that a person may travel in these parts for days together, without seeing or hearing of a single female in the course of his journey. To this circumstance may be attributed, the total absence of comfort in the dwellings of these wretched men, and the gloomy apathy observed in their dispositions and habits. It is true, that the mistress of an estate, may occasionally visit it for a few months, but she is obliged during her stay, to live in great seclusion, on account of the dreadful consequences to be apprehended from being so exposed." As to religion, if it possesses any influence over them at all, it is probably more injurious than useful. At present they are freed from all restraints, excepting such as are imposed by their leaders, whose inclinations and habits are pretty much the same. Their ideas beyond what relates to their immediate wants and employments are few; and those are a passion for liberty, as it is understood by them, that is an unbounded licentiousness, with the most absolute submission to their chiefs, and which, contradictory as it may seem, depends on popularity. The qualifications necessary for the leader of a banditti, are by no means

* See an interesting narrative of a shipwreck in the Boston Athenæum, No. 42. I do not recollect having ever met with a more horrible and inhuman ferocity, than was exhibited by the gauchos on this occasion. A consolatary contrast is there exhibited, between the kindness and charity of the agricultural peasantry and those monsters.

common. But without a leader of this description, the banditti must soon disperse. That there should have been such a leader as Artigas, is probably the greatest misfortune that could have happened. Such is the people, against whom the Portuguese and the government of Buenos Ayres is at war. Possessing this effective force at his command, he is enabled to set at defiance the wishes of the sober and settled inhabitants residing in villages, or cultivating the soil, who are far from being satisfied with the prostration of all law and government, excepting that which emanates from the will of this despot. When it is said, that the people are unanimous in support of Artigas, it is to be understood, *the people called gauchos*, for on turning to the documents which accompany the Report of Mr. Rodney, it will be perceived that the respectable part of the community, are far from being unanimous in his support. And the expeditions sent by Buenos Ayres against Artigas, would indeed have deserved the imputation of folly, if they had not been founded upon a belief that their presence was all that was necessary, to enable them to throw off the yoke of this despot.

As we approached the town, we met a number of country people, chiefly women and boys, with a few men, who appeared as if returning from market. I was a little surprised at this, as I understood that all intercourse had been prohibited by Artigas, but General Carrera informed us, that this does not extend beyond the prohibition of the supply of horned cattle, and that some of those we saw, were in all likelihood of the besieging force, but that such was the situation of things, it was winked at. The hatred to the Portuguese, pervades every class of natives, the commoner of the plains, as well as the tenant of the humbl

cottage, and appears to increase in the rising generation. The present inhabitants can never be good Portuguese subjects.

About noon we had a visit from General Lecor and suit. His officers generally spoke good English, probably from having served with them against the French. This was intended as a visit of ceremony. At three o'clock, we proceeded to his quarters, according to invitation. Commodore Sinclair had at first declined, but afterwards, on a pressing invitation being sent by the general, he was induced to come. Mr. Rodney declined coming on shore at all; under all circumstances, not considering it proper for him to do so, until his return from Buenos Ayres. We found a great number of persons assembled, all of them Portuguese officers of the land and naval service, excepting a gentleman in a citizen's dress, who, we were informed was an agent from Buenos Ayres, on some special business; he was a keen, intelligent looking man, and his plain suit of black formed a singular contrast with the splendid uniforms, and crosses, and medals of the Portuguese officers. The entertainment was the most sumptuous. It was indeed a banquet, composed of every thing in the way of fish, flesh, and fowl, that can well be imagined, and was succeeded by all the variety of fruits which this market and that of Buenos Ayres could afford. Our ears were at the same time regaled with the sweetest music from the general's band. Several of these officers, particularly the general's aids, were remarkably handsome men; I happened to be seated near one of them, and had a good deal of conversation with him. He expressed a high admiration of our political institutions, and national character, part of which, I of course considered only complimentary. He spoke of the

patriots at Buenos Ayres, as a factious set, incapable of establishing any sober government; their leaders all corrupt, and desirous only of acquiring some little self importance; the people ignorant, and at the mercy of ambitious demagogues: he contrasted their character with the virtues and intelligence of the people of the United States. He spoke of Artigas, as an atrocious savage, and stated a recent instance of cruel treatment to his prisoners; that his people were like all other savages, entirely insensible to the feelings of humanity. He spoke in a manner, not very complimentary to the English, and held out the idea, that some useless attempts had lately been made on their part, to induce the king of Portugal to return to Lisbon.

The Buenos Ayrean agent, in the course of the entertainment sought a conversation with me, and pronounced a hasty but fervid eulogy on his government, and then on the character of his countrymen. His eagerness to communicate his thoughts, seemed to arise from apprehensions that unfavourable impressions would be made on our minds. He spoke of General Carrera, at the same time requesting to be forgiven for the liberty he was taking, and observed that he had perceived him very intimate with us, and had understood he was highly esteemed in the United States, but he hoped we would not permit our minds to be swayed by his statements, as he entertained a deadly enmity to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even to the people of that place; that he was actuated by disappointed ambition, and for the sake of revenge, would go any length. "If he be the real patriot," said he, "why does he live under the protection of this government? Can he not go to the United States, or any where else? No, he is waiting his opportunity until the liberties of Chili shall be won from Spain, through the aid of our

arms, in order to kindle up the same civil broils and factions, by which that country has been once lost already. In the mean time, he loses no opportunity of harrassing us, as far as lies in his power. We attribute to him, much of the abuse that has appeared against our leading men in your newspapers, and which has occasioned deep regret to the people of Buenos Ayres. The idea has been held out, that the Chilians were conquered by their brethren of Buenos Ayres, an idea the most absurd that can be imagined; but it is necessary that he should hold out this pretence, for if his country accepts our assistance, what right has he to object? No," said he, "his anger has no other foundation than disappointed ambition. But," said he, "you will judge for yourselves. Does his country require his services? Can any one deny the fact, that she has done better without him than with him? Let him at least remain quiet as a private citizen, until the liberties of his country are settled on a solid basis, and not be continually engaged as he is, in trying to bring us into disrepute with our friends abroad." My business was that of a listener—I could only answer, that I thought his observations worthy of being attended to.

During our short stay at Monte Video, I became acquainted with several English gentlemen, from whom I collected a good deal of information respecting the state of the country. With a young Irish merchant, who possessed all that generosity of heart, and genuine hospitality which characterizes his countrymen, I was highly pleased. I could not divest my mind of the idea, that he was a countryman of my own, although he informed me that he had never been in the United States. I was not aware of our entertaining this feeling towards the Irish when abroad,

but it no doubt arises from the circumstance of our considering them as a distinct people from the English, and oppressed by them, as well as from a consciousness that the hearts of Irishmen, have generally been with us in our times of trial. Their accounts were, in most respects, very much at variance with some that I had heard from General Carrera, and his friend White; and knowing that so much depends upon the situations, motives, and interests of men, I thought well to give them due weight and consideration, as they were not so obviously disqualified from giving unbiassed testimony, as the two persons just mentioned. It would certainly be improper on these occasions, to adopt those rules of evidence established by the experience of judicial tribunals, but they are not entirely to be despised. Having from earliest infancy, in a life replete with incident, been often cast among strangers, the habit of circumspection has grown upon me. To distrust or doubt is one thing, to decide after mature and cautious examination, is another.

The day after our dinner with Lecor, Mr. Bland came on board, in company with General Carrera and White; and in the evening, as a considerable sea had been raised by the north-east wind, which blows almost continually during the summer season, the two strangers were invited to partake of the hospitality of the ship, and to remain all night. As the fortunes and character of General Carrera had excited considerable interest in the United States, I was induced to observe him closely, in order that I might form an opinion for myself. I had been highly prepossessed in his favour, on account of the generosity of himself and family towards Commodore Porter, after his desperate battle on the coast of Chili. I had seen him in the United

States, and was much pleased with his modest unassuming deportment. But doubts had been raised in my mind as to the true character of his patriotism. "The outline of the revolutions in South America," a work which bears the character of impartiality, and which certainly evinces abilities, represents his conduct, in the political transactions of Chili, as actuated by an inordinate ambition to secure power in his own hands, to which the misfortunes of his country are chiefly attributed. The accounts published in our newspapers, tending to bring the patriot cause into disrepute, though apparently designed merely to discredit those who had the management of affairs, I had reason to believe, were principally derived from him, and looked as if resentment against those who had recently directed the contest with so much success, was in his breast the predominating passion. This might be expected in ordinary men, in the middle and mixed character, but not in heroes such as Plutarch holds up as models. Without saying any thing of his abilities, which I did not think very extraordinary, I judged from the sentiments which he expressed, that he was more of a Coriolanus than a Themistocles. That is, more likely to turn his sword against his country for the gratification of revenge, than to destroy himself, rather than take sides with her enemies against her. He seemed to me one of those we should call in prosperity a fine fellow, possessing popular and pleasing manners, but without the extraordinary talents or lofty sentiments, which render men respected in adversity. It is possible, if he had been permitted to continue at the head of affairs in Chili, he would have been an ornament to his country; but when denied this, he was not possessed of sufficient greatness of mind to despise the dictates of narrow and selfish passions;

and instead of giving up his whole thoughts to what might tend to the ultimate good and advantage of his country, his personal wrongs seemed to engross his attention. He could much more easily forgive the defeats of his rivals by the common enemy, than their victories. Of an ancient and aristocratic family, in being excluded from power, he seemed to think himself deprived of his birth-right. Such, at least, was the impression made on my mind, for the circumstance of his being out of authority was continually uppermost in his discourse. He spoke at the same time, enthusiastically and feelingly, of the charms of his native country, but his language was more that of a banished prince than of a citizen.*

The accounts which he gave of the state of the patriot cause, were in every particular extravagantly exaggerated. According to him, every thing had gone to ruin; the Buenos Ayreans were defeated every where; Belgrano would be compelled to withdraw from Peru; the Spaniards had got possession of Con-

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* I had intended to have given an explanation of many of those *personal affairs*, which at one time attracted a good deal of public attention; but on reflection, I did not think them of sufficient importance. An effort was made to enlist the American public in these private quarrels and bickerings, but there was too much good sense here for it to succeed, and I should be sorry to revive the recollection. We neither know nor care who is the best patriot; all we look to, is the great contest between South America and Spain. A year ago, it might have been necessary to have explained those things, but it is no longer so. To the *one-sided*, and partial statements of these affairs, I might have said,

> "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than were ever dreamt of in our philosophy."

ception, in Chili, and were joined by the inhabitants; the people of Buenos Ayres were distracted by factions, and on the eve of another revolution, while the greatest cruelty had been manifested by the present leaders to his family, in consequence of the attachment of the people, and their wish to have them as their chiefs. When we first saw him, he spoke of Puerrydon with an apparent candour and generosity, which excited surprise; he declared him to be the fittest man in the country to be at the head of the government, and observed, with respect to the charge of oppression, for having deposed some of the citizens of Buenos Ayres, " in this he has done right---they were bad men," and then drew the character of each in revolting colours, with what justice, or truth, I shall not pretend to say. He spoke in the most unfavourable manner of the people of Buenos Ayres, whom he seemed cordially to detest. I afterwards remarked some inconsistency in his language, when he and his companion, White, took every means in their power to prejudice our minds against Puerrydon, San Martin, and O'Higgins, whom they represented as a pack of scoundrels; which, with respect to the first, I thought strange, after telling us, that he was the most fit man to be at the head of the government. I might have reconciled the contradiction, by supposing him to mean that he was suited to the people; but I could not understand how, on principle, he could justify the banishment of the citizens of Buenos Ayres already spoken of; I concluded, therefore, that his seeming candour and liberality was merely intended to enable him the more effectually to prejudice our minds against the chief magistrate of Buenos Ayres. There was one sentiment uttered by him, which, in my conception, was incompatible with genuine patriotism. He observed, in substance, that as long as the country was

still in danger from Spain, it would be well enough to accept the aid of the army of San Martin; but, that as soon as the Spaniards were driven off, the army of Buenos Ayres might be expelled in turn! From this, it was natural for me to infer, that he had already endeavoured to excite his partisans in Chili to raise the standard of civil war; but that on the approach of a new danger from the common enemy, he had resolved to postpone his design, until they were a second time driven out by San Martin. For my part, I could see no object to be answered by such an act, but that of placing the family of Carrera in power. The story of Buenos Ayres having made a conquest of Chili, and intending to hold it under a kind of subjection, nearly as bad as that of Spain, did not seem to me to carry with it much probability. That some temporary political influence is exerted by Buenos Ayres, I have no doubt, and it is a salutary one; it will keep down, at least until the danger from Spain be passed, the two rival factions of the country, which have already caused so much mischief. The common mind can easily discover great advantage in the strict union between Chili and Buenos Ayres, until their independence shall be established; it would be an incredible act of madness and folly on the part of the latter, to be actuated by the thirst of conquest, when engaged in a doubtful contest for existence, or to oppress their own brethren, when they must stand so much in need of their friendship and assistance. Besides, to think of holding them in a state of subjection for any length of time, is utterly impossible; the only mode in which the Spaniards could effect it, was by disarming them, and depriving them of all participation in the government; the reverse of which has been done by Buenos Ayres. Was not the expulsion of the Spanish authorities a *deliverance?* They are,

then, surely better off than they were before. But they might have accomplished it themselves---General Carrera might have done it; here is the drowning man complaining of "the guilty familiarity of plucking him up by the locks." Is the *chance* of freedom better than the *certainty?* It is much more probable that the idea originated in the ambition of Carrera, whose conduct proves that he considers the government of Buenos Ayres, not so much inimical to his country as to his own peculiar views. Such is the ambition which is likely to distract these unhappy countries, and which induces many to believe, that if left to themselves, their independence will prove to them a curse.

His companion, White, from his own account, was an expatriated American, and had been settled in the country eighteen or twenty years; had rendered important services to the government of Buenos Ayres, for which he had been treated with great ingratitude; he had been banished from that place, and had sued in vain from the present director for permission to return. According to others, he was a desperate and unprincipled adventurer, possessed of considerable talents, but had got himself into many scrapes, and had been frequently in prisons. It was said that he was a native of Boston, and had been bred to the bar, but that he followed in this country the profession of a merchant. I was told that he was odious to the people of Buenos Ayres for having rendered assistance to the expedition of Beresford, and that he had made a large sum of money as the auctioneer of the effects captured in the city by the British. He had afterwards been employed by the government of Buenos Ayres to purchase vessels for Admiral Brown's squadron, and was accused of defrauding the state, was obliged to fly and take refuge on board an English ship of war, where he claimed pro-

tection as a British subject. He wished the commissioners to interfere in his business, and to procure an adjustment of his claims on the government of Buenos Ayres; asserting his right to protection as an American citizen. Mr. Rodney declined having any thing to do with them; he left his papers, however, with one of the other commissioners.

General Carrera had paid a visit some time before to Artigas, and from what I gathered from him, his gratification was not high. He painted him as a kind of half savage, possessing strong natural mind, taciturn, but shrewd in his remarks when he chose to speak. He wore no uniform or mark of distinction, and took up his abode in a cart or waggon, caring little for the refinements or comforts of civilized life, to which, in fact, he had never been much accustomed. His life had been passed in the plains, and he had an aversion to living in towns, and to the constraints of polished society. His residence then, was at a small village on the Rio Negro, called Purification, consisting of a few huts constructed with mud, or ox hides; but his seat of government often shifted place. He lives on the same fare, and in the same manner, with the gauchos around him, being in truth nothing but a gaucho himself. When told of a pamphlet published against him at Buenos Ayres, he spoke of it with the utmost indifference, and said, "My people cannot read." He has about him a small body of men, who are considered regular soldiers, but his chief force consists of the herdsmen of the plains; its numbers, therefore, extremely fluctuating, as it cannot be kept long together. His followers are greatly attached to him. His fame and superior intellect commands their respect, at the same time that he indulges them in a certain kind of familiarity, which wins their affec-

tions,* A few simple words, liberty, country, tyrants, &c. to which each one attaches his own meaning, serve as the ostensible bond of their union, which in reality arises from "their pre-disposition to an unrestrained roving life." His authority is perfectly absolute, and without the slightest control; he sentences to death, and orders to execution, with as little formality as a dey of Algiers. He is under the guidance of an apostate priest, of the name of Monterosa, who acts as his secretary, and writes his proclamations and letters; for although Artigas has not a bad head, he is by no means good at inditing. Monterosa professes to be in the literal sense, a follower of the political doctrines of Paine;† and prefers the constitution of Massachusetts as the most democratic, without seeming to know that the manners and habits of a people are very important considerations. The men bearing arms under Artigas, probably amount to six or eight thousand, but the number at any time embodied is much less; the want of commissaries and regular supplies, rendering it impossible to keep them together. The neighbouring Indian tribes are also devoted to him, principally through the means of his adopted son, an Indian named Andres.‡ I give the impression left on my mind from

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* They address him by the familiar name of *pepe*.

† Paine's Common Sense, and the American constitutions, have been widely circulated in every part of South America.

‡ These Indians have occasioned great terror in the settlements on the Parana. I saw several families at Buenos Ayres, who had fled down the river in consternation, even from the neighbourhood of Santa Fee. Mr. Bonpland, the celebrated naturalist, had intended to ascend the river for the purpose of pursuing his researches, but was prevented by the accounts he heard of the Indians around

the conversation of the general: it is possible I may have mingled in this statement something of what I may have heard from others.

I shall take this opportunity of giving a sketch of the principal incidents in the life of this singular man, as far as I have been enabled to do it, from conversations with persons during my stay at this place and at Buenos Ayres, as well as from such documents as I could procure after the most diligent inquiry. He is a native of Monte Video, born of respectable parents, but when quite a youth, became enamoured of the wild life of the herdsmen, and strayed away from the paternal roof. He joined a band of robbers and smugglers, who infested the country, and in the course of time became a noted leader. I have already remarked, the trouble which this class of men, so little under the restraint of law and government, and inhabiting boundless plains, have always given to the Spaniards and Portuguese, and especially in this quarter. So many depredations and murders were committed by the idle and abandoned part, who formed themselves into *montons*,* or bands, that about the year 1798, it was found necessary to establish a provincial corps, designated by the name of *Blendengues*, for the purpose of scouring the country, and repressing their lawless practices. At the earnest solicitation of the father of Artigas, who saw in this a mode of reclaiming his son, in which the government

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that place; the defeat of the troops of Buenos Ayres was chiefly effected by them in the thick woods of the Entre Rios. This philosopher, whose opinion is worth attending to, observed to me, "It is a fortunate circumstance that Artigas is very old, and cannot live long, otherwise it would be in his power to do irreparable mischief."

* Hence the word *montoneros*.

also found its interest, Artigas then received a commission and was pardoned, after having been nearly twenty years an outlaw. According to the old adage, he justified their expectations; he so effectually pursued and hunted down his old companions, that the country was restored to comparative tranquillity and security. At the commencement of the civil war between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, he had risen to the rank of captain; but in the two invasions by the British, he seems to have been no way distinguished, at least I have not been able to meet with his name in any of the numerous printed documents and papers of that time.

The reader will recollect, that in 1810, a junta was established by the patriots of Buenos Ayres, while the Spanish authority was triumphant at Monte Video. Hostilities ensued. Artigas was still in the service of the royalists, but deserted them the year following, and came to Buenos Ayres. The immediate cause of this desertion is stated to have been an insult offered him by the governor of Colonia; who, after repeatedly reprimanding him for not keeping his gauchos in a proper state of subordination, threatened to put him in irons. I will not vouch for the truth of the story, but I have not heard it contradicted; the probability is, that in serving under a regular officer, he found himself in a very different situation from that of a free and independent commander of a scouring party on the frontier. His habits had disqualified him for the observance of a rigid discipline, and, it is probable, he would have lost his influence over his gauchos by attempting to enforce it. He was gladly received by the government of Buenos Ayres, which was then meditating an invasion of the Banda Oriental, and which perceived at once that this man might be used

to great advantage, from his known intrepid character, and his repute among the inhabitants of the plains. They accordingly furnished him with a quantity of arms and ammunition, and sent him over for the purpose of raising the gauchos. General Rondeau followed soon after with two thousand regulars. Under the command of this general, assisted by Artigas, with his guerillas, the war was carried on with rapid success; Artigas gained considerable reputation by defeating the Spanish troops under Elio, at Las Piedras; and Maldonado, Colonia, and the principal villages, fell into his possession. Rondeau next laid siege to Monte Video, and which was kept up until the close of the year. At this time the situation of Buenos Ayres was extremely critical; its forces had been entirely defeated in the provinces of Peru; the royalists were in possession of the country as low down as Salta; while, at the same time, an army of four thousand Portuguese, under General Sousa, was marching on Monte Video. In this state of things, the junta was compelled to patch up a kind of truce with Elio, by which it was agreed that, on condition the Portuguese, who had been called in by Elio, should withdraw their forces from the Banda Oriental, the patriots would raise the siege, and retire beyond the Uruguay, into the province of Entre Rios. Rondeau and his troops returned to Buenos Ayres for the purpose of being employed in another quarter, while Artigas remained in the Entre Rios, at the head of his guerillas; here he was supplied with arms and money, but the war in the upper provinces, carried on against the army of Lima, called for all the exertions of this infant republic. If overwhelmed in that quarter, the royalists in all probability would have formed a junction on the Parana, with the forces of Monte Video, as has

been stated by Mr. Poinsett. It was, therefore, equally the interest of Paraguay and Banda Oriental, as well as of Buenos Ayres, that the progress of the Limanian army should be effectually arrested.

The withdrawing of the troops of Buenos Ayres, is said by some to have been the first cause of dissatisfaction to Artigas, who thought the siege ought to have been carried on at all events. It is alleged, that from his limited information and capacity, he was unable to take an enlarged and comprehensive view of the situation and policy of Buenos Ayres; that he was unable to calculate remote consequences, that his mind embraced only the comparatively small district in which he was placed, and could not enlarge itself to the general emancipation of the viceroyalty; without which it would be in vain to expect emancipation of a particular district. The reverses experienced in Peru, formed therefore, with him, no justification for the step which Buenos Ayres had taken. The friends of Artigas allege, that he was disgusted at this time with intrigues, jealousies, and factions, which manifested themselves in the democracy of Buenos Ayres; but these persons do not reflect on the consequences of every military officer, from a commander in chief to the commander of a detachment, taking upon himself to determine whether the government is managed wisely and faithfully, or of his refusing obedience and renouncing its authority. Besides, this plea is made by every traitor, whether it has any foundation or not. Artigas was regarded as an ignorant man, but useful in his way; the hopes of the new republic, however, rested upon men of a very different stamp, upon the Rondeaus, the Belgranos, the Balcarces, and others of this description, who adhered to the fortunes of their country in the midst of all the turbulence, faction,

and changes to which an unsettled republic would unavoidably be subject. These things Artigas could not understand; he was more pleased with that simplicity and unity of action which arises from absolute power. Whatever the causes may be, it is certain, that from this time, Artigas manifested symptoms of disaffection and obeyed the orders of the junta with reluctance, and sometimes not at all.

The affairs of Buenos Ayres being placed on a somewhat better footing, a new army, consisting of four thousand men, was again sent over to the Banda Oriental, early in 1812, under the command of Sarratea. The Portuguese, alarmed at their approach, accepted the mediation of Lord Strangford, and entered into the armistice of the 10th of June; in pursuance of which, the Portuguese withdrew from the territory of Buenos Ayres. The truce which had been agreed to with Elio, having been broken, it was resolved by Buenos Ayres, a second time, to besiege Monte Video. The new triumvirate, consisting of Sarratea, Chiclana, and Passo, sent Rondeau, with three thousand men, to recommence hostilities. On the 31st of the month, this general was attacked by Vigodet, who had succeeded Elio, and who, on this occasion, was repulsed with loss. Considerable reinforcements were soon after sent from Buenos Ayres, and the town regularly besieged under Sarratea, who superseded Rondeau in the command, the services of this experienced officer being thought necessary in Peru. Great complaints were made by Sarratea, of the insubordination of Artigas and his guerillas. Artigas, at length, entirely refused obedience, and withdrew his people, declaring that unless Sarratea was recalled, he would no longer co-operate with the forces of Buenos Ayres. The difficulty of managing this man was now beginning to be felt, but his services were of such im-

portance, that it was thought necessary to sacrifice a good deal for the purpose of conciliating him. Men of this description are often indulged in a latitude which would be thought entirely inadmissible in others; but this indulgence generally leads to an unbounded license, and a total disregard of authority. In order to appease this warrior, Sarratea was recalled in February, 1813, and Rondeau, who it was supposed would be acceptable to him, was again placed at the head of this army. He had no pretensions, himself, to the command of any thing but his guerillas; his habits of life and want of education, entirely disqualified him for taking the command of regular troops. With this measure he appeared at first, to be satisfied, and once more returned to his duty; but his subordination was of short continuance; every effort to procure a permanent reconciliation was fruitless; possessing unbounded control himself over his guerillas, who idolized him as their chief, he could not brook the idea of being commanded by another. It is probable, also, that at this time, he had formed the design of entirely renouncing the authority of Buenos Ayres; chiefly actuated, I have no doubt, by his impatience of control. An act of a most arbitrary and despotic character, done by him about this time, is related by Funes.* A criminal correspondence was

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* Those citizens who loved order, laboured with zeal and dexterity to extinguish a flame menacing ruin to the state. This end appeared to be obtained by an Oriental congress, which general Rondeau convened, in the name of the government, for the purpose of nominating deputies for a national congress, and a provincial governor. All was on the eve of being verified, when general Artigas, as chief of the Orientals, commanded, in the name of the same government, that the electors should present themselves at his head quarters, in order to receive instructions from him. This

some time after discovered between Otorguese, one of Artigas's chieftains, and Vigodet, the governor of Monte Video; a circumstance which is often alleged, as rendering doubtful the attachment of Artigas to the patriot cause. It is certain, that on this occasion, he deserted Rondeau, with all his guerillas, and betook himself to the plains. Rondeau thus abandoned by a great proportion of his numerical force, would have found himself in a critical situation, but that, fortunately, the Spaniards mistook the whole for a *ruse de guerre*.

Rondeau being sent to take the command of the army in Peru, the siege of Monte Video was carried on by Alvear, who was appointed to succeed him. In the mean time, the government of Buenos Ayres had undergone a change. What was called the sovereign assembly had been installed, and instead of a triple executive, a single one was appointed under the title of director, in January, 1813. The choice had fallen upon Posadas, and when the last desertion of Artigas was made known at Buenos Ayres, he proceeded at once to

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proceeding, so strongly savouring of despotism, offended every one. The electors assembled in the chapel of Maciel, and fulfilled their trust. The real disposition of general Artigas then discovered itself; he annulled the congress, thus assuming absolute power; but this daring measure had no effect upon what this body had done. The selection of deputies, and a governor, was celebrated in all the encampments, and the last named officer began to exercise his functions. General Artigas viewed these measures with a hatred, lively as dissembled, and prepared to avenge himself. Under various pretexts he withdrew his countrymen, and at last, in the garb of a gaucho, deserted his post, thus leaving exposed the right of our line. This rash proceeding made it apparent, that he preferred his own interests to those of his country; but many officers, and others of the Orientals, did not follow this pernicious example." Funes, p. 65.

consider him as a traitor, and offered a reward for his apprehension. Funes considers this measure to have been rash and ill-advised; not but that he looked upon Artigas as a deserter, but that he thought it imprudent and unwise, inasmuch as the proscription of Artigas became that of the whole country, which his gauchos enabled him to sway. Experience, he says, has shown that moderation would have been wiser than this violence. It is no easy matter to say what would have been the best manner of managing a man of this description; no dependence could longer be placed upon him, nor could there be any expectations of any further aid or assistance from him in the common cause. The only question was, how to render him as little mischievous as possible. From the writings and publications of the day, the public mind at Buenos Ayres appears to have been much exasperated against him, and it is probable, that Posadas, in issuing his proclamation, merely obeyed the impulse of public feeling; it is not likely that he would have ventured to have taken such a step, merely for his own gratification. It was natural enough that his enemies should afterwards charge him with obeying the dictates of private resentment or passion, when the measure turned out unfortunate, or that it should be used for party purposes even by persons who detested Artigas, and, such is the unfortunate nature of party spirit, would be willing to resort to any topic, calculated to produce popular ill will. It might, also, at the same time, have been thought worth the experiment, whether this proscription of Artigas, might not induce his followers to abandon him; particularly as it was known that the sober and respectable population was unfriendly to him. But they did not reflect that Artigas had in his hands, the effective force of the country, and had declared himself its chief.

The siege was carried on with success; the Buenos Ayreans having become possessed of the mines of Potosi were enabled to make a considerable effort. They fitted out a squadron under the command of an Englishman of the name of Brown, and sent considerable reinforcements to Alvear. Brown, after a well-fought action, captured the Spanish squadron before Monte Video; which place, being closely invested by land and water, surrendered to Alvear, in June, 1814. Thus, after a continued siege of two years, at the expense of many millions of dollars, Buenos Ayres succeeded in capturing this important city, with four thousand Spanish troops, and an immense quantity of arms and munitions of war. The inhabitants were called upon to establish a junta and government similar to that of the other provinces. The achievement, or rather the good fortune of Alvear, raised him at once to the pinnacle of fame, with his countrymen; and with that extravagance which seems to be peculiar to republics, they set no bounds to their favour and admiration. On his return to Buenos Ayres, he was appointed to take the command of the army in Peru; but this army, not being carried away by the popular delirium, was unwilling to exchange a chief in whom they had confidence, for one, for whose abilities they entertained no great respect. Rondeau, himself, offered to submit, but his officers and troops refused. In consequence of this, Alvear was elevated to the directorship, Posadas having formally resigned in January, 1815. After the capture of Monte Video, Artigas, with a peculiar modesty, made a demand of the city, which belonged to him as "chief of the Orientals." Some troops had been left at this place under the command of colonels Dorrego and Soler, who carried on an active partisan war for some time, with Arti-

gas, and his gauchos. The cabildo of Buenos Ayres, as they afterwards alleged, by compulsion of Alvear, issued a proclamation similar to that of Posadas; but the probability is, that Artigas, from his final desertion until the downfal of Alvear, was generally regarded as a traitor, and nothing else. Colonel Dorrego having been defeated by Rivera, one of Artigas's generals, the government of Buenos Ayres ordered Soler to withdraw from Monte Video, with the troops under his command. Possession was soon after taken by Artigas, who being now settled in his dominion, and having regulated things according to his own wishes, next thought of extending his empire by conquest. He crossed the Uruguay, and in addition to his title of chief of the Orientals, assumed that of "protector of the Entre Rios and Santa Fee." The herdsmen of these countries would, obviously, incline to his side, and there was every reason to fear that those of the pampas, in the rear of Buenos Ayres, would feel every disposition to join a chief of their own stamp, who promised them every indulgence in their wild and licentious life. The people of Buenos Ayres became alarmed at the civil war which threatened to burst upon them from every side; they repented of the insulting proclamations, began to view Artigas in a different light, as he grew powerful and dangerous; they laid the whole blame upon their government, for measures which had only been adopted in obedience to the public voice, and were disposed to do any thing for the sake of reconciliation. Alvear, in the midst of the general distraction, made a military flourish, issued proclamations calling the people to arms, and marched with two thousand men for Santa Fee, which was then in the possession of Artigas. A revolution took place in Buenos Ayres, the former government was dissolved, and Alvear, abandoned by his army, was compelled to fly.

The government having devolved upon the cabildo, they immediately proceeded to take such measures, as they thought would satisfy the chief of the Orientals, and bring about a reconciliation. They not only condemned and reprobated every thing which had offended Artigas, but publicly burned the odious proclamations in the public square, by the hands of the executioner. These proceedings were announced to him in a formal address, to which he returned a gracious reply, declaring himself perfectly satisfied, and joining them in reprobating as traitors to their country, all those who had before offended him, and coinciding perfectly in the idea, that he himself was the only true patriot. He further declared, that his enmity was only personally directed against the individuals, who had heretofore managed the affairs of state, and not against the people of Buenos Ayres. In virtue of this disposition, a negotiation was set on foot by Alvarez, but proved to be fruitless; his professions of reconciliation were found to be false and hollow. Not satisfied with complete and entire independence, he made a demand of the munitions of war, as well as of the vessels captured at Monte Video, in order that he might make such disposition of them, for the good of the common cause, as he should think proper. The correspondence which took place on the occasion, was published by Alvarez, and may be seen in the Appendix to Mr. Rodney's Report. It satisfactorily proves, that Artigas was actuated by the spirit of a despot, and that he considered himself entitled to dispose of the fate and fortunes of the country over which he ruled, according to his mere will and pleasure. As it now became evident, that hostilities would have to be renewed with Artigas, a force, under Dias Velis, was ordered to march to Santa Fee, and General Belgrano soon after,

with reinforcements, took the command. Dias Velis was deputed as an agent, to make another attempt at negociation. The hostile measures of Alvarez, excited the alarms of the weak, who were fearful of kindling the ire of Artigas anew; it also furnished a pretext for enemies and demagogues, to accuse the administration of rashness and imprudence. A person of the name of Cosmo Massiel, was deputed to meet him, and, singular as it may seem, the conditions proposed on his part, and what is perhaps equally singular, agreed to, was first, that General Belgrano should resign the command to Dias Velis; and secondly, that the director Alvarez should resign his office. Stipulations to this effect were actually signed. Alvarez, on receiving the despatches containing them, far from giving vent to indignation at this insulting treatment, proved that he was willing to make any sacrifice, that might conduce to the restoration of peace and harmony; and at the same time, to furnish a practical refutation of the charge alleged against him in the treaty, he ratified it without a moment's delay. Assembling at his place of residence, the cabildo and the principal magistrates of the city, he read to them the despatch he had just received, and, after a few observations, in which he modestly explained his conduct, he tendered them his resignation. But, as there was some doubt, whether it could be accepted, according to an article in the provisional statute, without the concurrence of the junta of observation, they at first declined to accept his offer.* The junta being called in, how-

* The paper contained in its preamble, the following insulting language respecting the director: "Whereas, in order to put an end to the civil war in which this province has been involved, by the arbitrary and despotic conduct of the director, Ignatio Alvarez, &c."

ever, it was received, and they jointly proceeded to a new election of a director, pro tempore. The choice fell upon General Antonio Balcarce; the conduct of Alvarez on this occasion, drew forth a vote of thanks from the national congress, then recently organized at Tucuman. Alvarez resumed his place as colonel in the service, and is still in the confidence both of the government and the people.

General Antonio Balcarce being elected to fill the vacancy, made an attempt to settle the dispute with Artigas, but with no better success than his predecessors. The installation of the congress at Tucuman, had put an end to the unfortunate dissentions which manifested themselves in Cordova, and in some of the upper provinces. All but the city of Santa Fee, and the Entre Rios, of which Artigas claimed the protectorship, had submitted to the general congress, which declared independence in July, 1816. A deputation was sent to the chief of the Orientals, but he evaded any negociation.* So favourable an occasion of furthering their views, with respect to the Banda Oriental, was not to be neglected by the Portuguese; an army was assembled in the neighbouring province of Rio Grande, and marched into the country in three divisions. The sober inhabitants, who had thus far submitted to the sway of Artigas, from the hope that it would not be of long continuance, now became alarmed, at the prospects of being permanently transferred to the dominion of Portugal; they were, also, anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to unite themselves with the confederacy of La Plata. In

* Thus stated in the manifesto of the congress of the 17th of October, 1817.

Monte Video, and other towns, they formed themselves into volunteer corps, or civicos, the force of Artigas being fit for nothing but skirmishing and partisan war, and, therefore, of no use in opposing masses of troops in an open country.* The opportunity was seized by Pueyrredon, who was now at the head of affairs of the united provinces, since the declaration of independence. He protested against the Portuguese invasion, and insisted that General Lecor should withdraw, but received in answer the letter of this general, dated the 27th November, 1816, in which he states, that he has no hostile intentions against the territories of Buenos Ayres, that the country he had invaded, had declared itself independent. The director, at the same time, opened a correspondence with Artigas, and proposed a reconciliation. But, "to speak of reconciliation with Artigas," says Funes, "was to speak to the desert, his obduracy could neither be softened by compassion, nor his pride humbled by dangers. Although he received the donations,† he heard the proposal with displeasure, preferring, that history should accuse him of having sacrificed the occasion to his private hatred, his duties to his caprice, and his country to his interests." A struggle ensued between those in favour of the union, and the partisans and followers of Artigas, but the latter prevailed; "it was well known," says Funes, "that Artigas would annihilate any one who would oppose his authority." The Portuguese took possession of Monte Video, and other principal

* The war between Buenos Ayres and Artigas, in which the latter was victorious, was carried on in the Entre Rios, chiefly a wooded country.

† A supply of arms sent by the director.

places, with scarce an opposition. Many of the most respectable inhabitants, as well as the regiment of Libertos, having agreed to a reconciliation with the government of Buenos Ayres, contrary to the wishes of the chief of the Orientals, now crossed the river and joined the standard of the united provinces, leaving Artigas to pursue his own inclinations.

The Portuguese invasion, every thing considered, was probably a fortunate circumstance; it gave employment to Artigas and his guerillas, and enabled the government of Buenos Ayres, to pursue, without vexation and interruption, those more extensive plans, which have resulted in events of so much importance. It was enabled to strengthen the army in Peru, and gradually to recover itself in that quarter, after having been brought almost to the brink of ruin, by the defeat at Sipo-sipe. It had been enabled to carry its arms across the mountains into Chili, and to convert a country, from whence La Plata was continually harassed by enemies, into an ally, furnishing additional strength and security, and holding out new hopes to the philanthropist, of the ultimate success of the great cause of South American emancipation. La Plata, perhaps too much elated by good fortune, thought of regaining the provinces which Artigas had invaded and placed under his protection. The Entre Rios is, itself, of but little moment, containing hardly any population but Indians, excepting on the borders of the Parana; but the town of Santa Fee, on the south side of the river, is a point of importance, as by holding possession of it, Artigas might be prevented from crossing over, disturbing the back country of Buenos Ayres, and spreading the contagion of mischief and licentiousness among the gauchos of the pampas, or, of intercepting, by means of his roving

bands, the trade carried on by the city of Buenos Ayres with the interior. Two expeditions, one under Montes de Oca, and the other under Balcarce, proved equally unfortunate; they, in both instances, fell into ambuscades, composed of Indians and gauchos. The further prosecution of this design is, for the present, at least, abandoned.

The commerce of the Banda Oriental, may almost be said to be at an end. The Portuguese have possession of all the ports where it was carried on, on this side of the river La Plata. Besides holding this place, Colonia, an inconsiderable village, was blockaded, the island of Goritti was in their possession, and several of their ships of war anchored in the harbour of Maldonado. The town of Maldonado, at the distance of two or three miles from the beach, had been abandoned by the Portuguese, and English or American vessels were permitted to carry on a trade with the inhabitants. The whole coast was, in fact, under the controul of the Portuguese, and was maintained by not less than eight or ten vessels of war. The Banda Oriental does not even own a single ton of shipping, and I question much, whether Artigas has half a dozen seamen in the whole extent of his government. Since my return to this country, I saw in the newspapers, the names of several ports under his jurisdiction, but I heard nothing of them while I was there. Some trade up the Uruguay is carried on in small sloops, by individuals from Buenos Ayres, under a kind of special license and favour from Artigas, and winked at by the government of that place. They ascend this river to the Rio Negro, which is mentioned as one of the ports of Artigas. It is probable, that in the interior, there may be small craft and canoes, but this is the extent of the Oriental navy. That these

people are capable of making a long and desperate resistance, from the nature of the country, there can be no doubt. Azara informs us, that the conquest of the Charua Indians, who inhabited from Maldonado to the Uruguay, cost the Spaniards more bloodshed than their wars with the Incas, and with Montezuma. This nation, which was then numerous, was reduced, at the close of the 14th century, to about four hundred men; they are united to Artigas. The gauchos differ from them in this, that they cannot be said to belong to any distinct clan or tribe, possessing few common ties, their principal bond of union being their similarity of habits, "their predisposition to an unrestrained roving life," and their attachment to a leader, who happens to suit them. It is also to be understood, that there are amongst these people a blue, and a better blue; that is, some difference in point of respectability and intelligence among the individual gauchos, as well as among their chiefs. In general descriptions, such exceptions are always to be understood; indeed, it is always difficult to avoid the danger of raising the character too high, or of sinking it too low.

Before I bid adieu to Monte Video, I shall make a few general remarks on the Banda Oriental, and the province of Entre Rios. In order to convey a more distinct idea to my countrymen, I have compared the former to the Mississippi territory; the river Uruguay, which separates it from the latter, is of greater magnitude than the Ohio; it is little short of fifteen hundred or two thousand miles in length, and, although interrupted by a cataract, and a number of rapids, it affords an extensive navigation. The Entre Rios, (so called from its lying between the rivers Uruguay and Parana,) is about four hundred miles in

length, by one hundred in breadth. The greater part of it is well supplied with wood and water, but is, in general, level. About the twenty-sixth degree of south latitude, the two rivers approach very near each other, and then separate. The Entre Rios is yet but little known, the only settlements of any consequence are on the banks of the Parana; the most important are Corrientes, at the junction of this river and the Paraguay, and the Baxada de Santa Fee, opposite to the city of Santa Fee.* There are a number of half Indian and Spanish villages along the river, but the whole of the population does not exceed ten or twelve thousand. The town of Corrientes, has remained quiet and undisturbed since the revolution; it has its cabildo and subordinate magistrates, free from the controul either of Paraguay or Buenos Ayres, and is sufficiently remote from Artigas to be out of his reach. Situated at the entrance into Paraguay, it is the mart of the little trade that is still permitted on the Parana. The matte, sugar, cotton, tobacco, &c. of Paraguay, find the way here, but in very small quantities, and European goods are introduced by the same channel. The Entre Rios could furnish Buenos Ayres with a sufficient supply of wood for all uses, provided the navigation were free and uninterrupted. The interior country, which is level, is but thinly inhabited, even by Indians.† The Guaranys, the most numerous, are distributed into small bands, without

* This confluence is said to be the most magnificent in the world. Azara says, the Parana discharges a quantity of water, equal to one hundred of the greatest rivers in Europe.

† The Indians, who chiefly infest the Parana above Santa Fee, are those who inhabit the Grav Chace, on the south side of the Paraguay.

any connexion, and being unwarlike, hide themselves in the recesses of the woods, or have been induced to come within the pale of civilization. The Charuas, and some of the smaller tribes leagued with them, are the most formidable. Their combined numbers probably, is less than a thousand, exclusive of the Guaranys, from the Parana to the Portuguese frontier. North of the Entre Rios, comes the celebrated province of Paraguay, containing nearly the same number of square miles as the Banda Oriental. It is bounded on the north by Brazil, and on the other sides by the rivers Paraguay and Parana.

It has been mentioned, that the warlike character of the Indians, north of the Parana, especially in the Banda Oriental, opposed great obstacles to the settlement of the country. The city of Monte Video was not founded until the year 1724, and it was even many years afterwards, before the Charuas could be so far kept in check, as to enable the Spaniards to establish estancias. Instead of directing their attention to raising grain, for which the country is well adapted, vast tracks of land were granted for grazing estates, where cattle were permitted to multiply to such a degree, that they could no longer be kept in a domesticated state, but when the trade was opened in 1798, so many were slaughtered for their hides, and they diminished so rapidly, that fears began to be entertained lest they should be exterminated. Measures were in consequence taken to prevent the decrease, by restricting the number to be killed.

Before the revolution, the number of estancias was estimated at three hundred and twenty, and the cattle at about a million and a half, which was a great diminution. To every five thousand head, six or seven peons, and a hundred horses, at least, were

required to attend them, to drive them into inclosures, and give them salt occasionally, by this means retained in a state not absolutely wild. There was besides, on each estancia, a number of tame cattle, greatly superior to those before mentioned. A judicious writer observes, that the same space of ground would support at least, twice as many as of the half wild cattle, owing to their not being subject to continual frights, and then not destroying so much herbage by trampling it down, as is the case with immense herds moving together. The owner of the estate seldom resided on it; the management of it was entrusted to an overseer, or capatace, furnished with a requisite number of peons. The yeomanry in these colonies, is much inferior to that of the United States, or England. The rural population is every where inferior to that of the towns.

By the treaty of 1750, the seven missions established by the Jesuits, towards the head of the Uruguay, were ceded to the Portuguese, but the Indians refused to come under their dominion. The Jesuits have been charged with countenancing the resistance made by them, and on this chiefly rests the accusations of ambitious designs against them. The Indians were, however, compelled to yield, and a line of posts was established, as well as a considerable track of country declared neutral. The Spanish government prohibited any trade with the neighbouring provinces, but without effect; great numbers of horned cattle were driven into the province of Rio Grande, and thence to Rio Janeiro, besides a vast number of horses and mules.* The Portuguese were in the habit of making excursions

* Estimated at thirty thousand annually.

into the Banda Oriental, and robbing the estancias; to repress this practice, is said to have been one of the purposes for which the Spanish government established the provincial corps spoken of. It is generally admitted, that the number of cattle is at present diminishing. There is every reason to believe, that the estancias have been entirely neglected, if not ruined. The peons have had other employments; vast numbers of cattle have no doubt been slaughtered in the general anarchy and disorganization. The Portuguese would succeed more effectually in their plan of conquest, by destroying the herds, than by making war upon the gauchos, if the vast extent of the country did not render such an expedient impracticable.

CHAPTER III.

Passage from Monte Video to Buenos Ayres—Description of Buenos Ayres—Interview with the Supreme Director.

CONSIDERABLE difficulties were experienced in procuring a vessel at Monte Video, to carry the mission to its place of destination. Several small vessels were examined, and found unsuited to the purpose; the idea of chartering one at this place, was therefore given up, and it was perceived too late, that an error had been committed, in not stopping for this purpose at St. Catherines. Some trade is carried on with Buenos Ayres, but of very little moment; two or three small sloops suffice for the purpose. Both American and English ships coming to this river, at present, are exposed to serious inconvenience from the desertion of their crews to join the privateers, which is as injurious to commerce, as it is demoralizing to the seamen. We were fortunate in meeting a young man who was going up in a small brig to Buenos Ayres, and who cheerfully consented to take us as passengers, otherwise, it is probable we should have been detained here for some time.*

* Captain Hickey arrived at Buenos Ayres several days before us, and announced our coming. We afterwards learned, that it had been in contemplation, to send down a government vessel for us, but we arrived before it was made ready to sail.

On the evening of the twenty-sixth of February, we got all our baggage on board, and embarked. Our Argo would have caused uneasiness, even to Charon and his ghosts; she was certainly much better suited for crossing the river Styx, than the river La Plata. She was an hermaphrodite brig, called the *Malacabada*, or unfinished; the hand of time, however, had nearly completed what had been left undone by the ship-builder. The deck had not been swabbed for a year. There had been putrid grain in the hold, which had bred insects and vermin, and sent forth a most disagreeable effluvia; the cabin, which was very small, contained several women, who were going to Buenos Ayres. The sails and rigging corresponded with the rest; by way of ballast, she had several puncheons of water in her hold, which kept a constant dashing and splashing, to our great annoyance. Thus crowded together on deck, with scarcely room to turn round in this crazy vessel, no one would have suspected, that the *Malacabada* carried a mission from the great republic of the north, to the rising republic of the south. The owner, a worthy young man, apprehensive that we might feel some uneasiness, lest we should be overtaken by a pampero, gave us the cheering information, that she had been twice overset without any material injury; he was lavish in her praise, as a swift sailor, a sea boat, and as good a piece of stuff as ever breasted the briny surge. She was built in Paraguay, he knew not how many years ago, of the best wood that province could afford, and which is even superior to the wood of Brazil. This young man had spent some years in the United States, spoke very good English, was a native of Monte Video, but his family, whom I afterwards found highly respectable, had removed to

Buenos Ayres.* He was a great patriot, and took delight in giving information on a thousand matters necessary to be learned, in order to understand other things of more intrinsic importance. The particulars I drew from him, gave me a more favourable opinion of his countrymen than I had before entertained, for having heard little else than the most unfavourable accounts, my mind was not entirely free from prejudice; slander may soil the purest character, even when it cannot destroy; much greater is the injury that it can do, where there happens to be real defects, susceptible of exaggeration. I collected from him, what I considered the popular opinions of the day. I was pleased with the warmth and zeal with which he spoke; it was precisely as a young American of the north† would speak of his own country. He professed to be acquainted with state measures, state affairs, and to give, unreservedly, the character of the leading men of the country. San Martin was pre-eminent; Pueyrredon was now very popular, although not so at first, but his energy had established order, without infringing the liberty of *the state;* I could not but remark the constant recurrence of this expression, whereas, on the opposite side, it is never used; it is the country of Artigas, *his* people, *his* war with the Portuguese, *his* enmity to Buenos Ayres, &c., the substance and language of despotism, wanting nothing but the form.

There were several passengers on board, besides our-

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* The population of this province has much increased, and is still increasing, by emigrations from nearly all the other provinces, from Banda Oriental, as well as from Peru.

† They call us Americans of the north—*Americanos del norte;* and themselves, *Americanos del Sud.*

selves, inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. As we expected not to remain out more than one night, we made up our minds to be reconciled to our miserable accommodations. We wrapped ourselves in our great coats, for the evening was extremely cool, and slept as well as we could. Next morning we came in sight of the southern shore, at the distance of some miles; it appeared to be a mere line along the surface of the water, and some solitary trees at a distance, looked as if they grew in this element. Towards the middle of the day, we suffered considerably from the heat, being without any shelter. In the mean while, in order to make the best of my situation, I resolved to strike up an acquaintance with *mes compagnons de voyage*, which was not difficult. Finding that I spoke their language, they soon became communicative, but, with the exception of one amongst them, who appeared to be a merchant's clerk, returning from Monte Video, where he had been on some business, their information was limited; they seemed to listen to the clerk, a sprightly fellow, with some attention, and when appealed to now and then, they confirmed what he said. It was important to know the sentiments of these people, as the presumption was, that these were not so much individual and peculiar, as common to the class, or portion of society to which they belonged. Politics, and national events, appeared to be the favourite topics; they were highly elated with the mission from the United States, from which, they presaged some great good to their country. They considered the day approaching when they were to be ranked with other nations, but I could discover at the same time, that there was among them already, no inconsiderable share of national pride; they recounted the achievements of their republic, their defeat of the British, their capture of Monte Video, their long and persevering war in Peru, and the late vic-

tory of their arms in Chili, and seemed to think, that the world was already beginning to regard with admiration, the greatness of their deeds. They seemed to hold in equal detestation the Spaniards and Portuguese. When I informed them I had heard that some among them were for having a king; they seemed to express some surprise, and said, that they had got rid of one king, and it would be singular if they should already think of another; their object was to establish a free government, and to be like the United States. They expressed their opinions freely, on most subjects, blaming or approving without reserve. The clerk, who seemed to be something of a book-man, told me he had read the history of the United States, the constitutions, and general Washington's farewell address. He thought Rousseau's Social Compact a visionary thing, but Paine's Common Sense, and Rights of Man, sober and rational productions. He had brought with him, to amuse himself on the way, a copy of Demoustier's Mythology, in French; which language, he told me, had been much studied of late, in consequence of there being very extensive importations of French books. Contrary to our expectations, we were compelled to remain another night on the water. In the evening, our companions, after taking a glass of something stimulating, struck up one of their national songs, which they sung with as much enthusiasm as we should our Hail Columbia! I joined them in my heart, though incapable of partaking in the concert with my voice. The air was somewhat slow, yet bold and expressive; the words of the first stanza and chorus, were as follows:

" Oid, mortales el grito sagrado,
Libértad, Libertad, Libertad,
Oid, el ruido de rotas cadenas
Ved en trono, a la noble igualdad;

Se levanta en la faz de la tierra,
Una nueva gloriosa nacion,
Coronada de su siende laureles,
Y a sus plantas, rendido un lion.

CORO.

Sean eternos los laureles,
Que supimas conseguir,
Coronados de gloria vivamos,
O juremos, con gloria morir."

The following is a literal translation:

Hear, O mortals! the sacred shouts,
Of liberty, liberty, liberty;
Hear the sound of broken chains,
Behold equality enthroned;
Behold in the face of day arising,
A new and glorious nation,
Her brows are crown'd with laurel,
A vanquished lion at her feet.

CHORUS.

Be eternal the laurel
We have dared to win;
Crowned with glory let us live,
Or with glory, swear to die.

This hymn, I was told, had been composed by a lawyer of the name of Lopes, now a member of congress, and that it is universally sung throughout all the provinces of La Plata, in the encampments of Artigas, as well as in the streets of Buenos Ayres; and that it is taught in schools as an essential part of the education of youth. There are four or five additional verses, which breathe the same strong sentiments of liberty and equality, so peculiarly suited to the Ameri-

can soil; should any attempt be made to establish arbitrary power, it must be through the aid of their counterfeit resemblance. It is unnecessary to speak of the powerful influence of national music and national songs; it may almost be said that there cannot be a nation without them; at least, when sentiments and thoughts are thus inculcated, they become interwoven with all the fibres of the heart. They, at the same time, furnish the best evidence of what is the prevailing wish or inclination of the people; they are proofs a thousand times more convincing than general observations. A people who are enthusiastic in such sentiments, can never voluntarily submit their necks to the yoke of despotism; and none of their chiefs can deceive any longer than their acts conform to them, especially where their power does not depend on standing armies, but on these very people. Their songs breathe the sublime strains of American liberty; any others would be offensive; if, in addition to this, they only possessed the intelligence at once to discern and understand the true principles of free government, they would have nothing to apprehend. The principles of freedom are, indeed, few and simple; but they are greatly deceived who think that free government is equally simple, that

> "All states can reach it, and all heads conceive;"

its component parts are, unfortunately, numerous and complicated; it is a science, and of all sciences, the most sublime; political rights must be secured by walls of adamant from the daring assaults of the ambitious; they must be protected from the fury of the mob, and the mirror must be held up to the venomous demagogue, "that he may see his own image in it, and be turned

into stone." I speak of a civilized society, with its complicated wants and interests, with all the vices, jealousies, and wayward passions of this iron age. In such a state of things, simplicity and freedom in the system of government, are almost incompatible; the governments of the despot and of the savage can alone be simple.

During the evening I had an opportunity, for the first time, of seeing and tasting the herb of Paraguay, or *matte*, as prepared by these people. It is called *matte*, from the name of the vessel; usually a small gourd, by the poorer sort, or silver, and even wood (nearly of the same shape) cased with copper for the rich. About a handful of the bruised leaves of the *yerba*, intermingled with small twigs, for it is not prepared with the cleanliness and care of the East India tea, is put into three half gills of warm water; the matte, itself, holding about a pint. As it is used, the water is occasionally renewed, and in taking it, they use a tube a few inches in length, with a perforated bulb at the end, as a strainer. Sugar is sometimes added to it. The taste is an agreeable bitter, and bears some resemblance to the Chinese tea. It does not form a part of a social meal, nor is any thing eaten with it; it is taken just as inclination prompts, at all times of the day, though more generally, in the morning and evening, or after having undergone some bodily fatigue. The decoction possesses, according to them, exhilirating and restorative qualities. As there were not mattes enough for each, I saw them without repugnance, using the same after each other; but I afterwards observed, that this was not the case in the more refined portions of society. The quantities of this herb consumed in the viceroyalty of La Plata,

and exported to Chili and Peru, was, at one time, very great; but the interruption of their trade, occasioned by the revolution, and the restrictive system adopted by the government of Paraguay, has occasioned it to diminish. Its use is said to have been borrowed from the Indians, with whom it had been known time immemorial. It is a large shrub, which grows wild throughout Paraguay, and on the east side of the Parana. Azara gives a description of the manner in which it is prepared for exportation. It is stated never to have been cultivated, and has not been accurately described by botanists.*

In speaking of the matte, I cannot refrain from noticing a character, whom I observed with some attention: to wit, *Paraguayo*, the cook, who derives his name, as is not unusual here, from the country of his birth. He was a fair specimen of the civilized Indians of that country, of the poorer class. His dress was like that of the other seamen, except that he had a handkerchief tied round the crown of his head, his hair queued behind, and his coarse, thick, black locks projected to an enormous size on each side. His complexion, though not quite so dark, and his features, were not unlike the North American Indian. His visage was rather longer, and cheek bones not so high. But what was most remarkable in him, was his immoveable gravity of countenance, and invincible silence. He seemed to have no more animation than the figure of Red Poll in Peale's Museum, and his eye had not even the fire and ex-

* Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Bonpland, were both of opinion, that it is a non-descript, and that it is erroneously designated *psoralia glandulosa*. They judge only from description, as the plant is not to be seen even in the gardens as a curiosity.

pression of the dead image of the North American. Every thing he did was with a slow mechanical movement, as if produced by machinery, and not by intellect; so that if the same thing had been repeated fifty times, it appeared to me that there would scarcely have been a difference of a single instant in point of time, or the slightest variation of gesture. The owner of our vessel told me, that he had had him in his employment for two years, that although slow, he was exceedingly faithful and trusty. He told me that every person in business made a point, if possible, to procure a Paraguayo; that they could all read and write, were sober in their habits, and very humble and submissive; of late years, in consequence of the state of things, they had almost disappeared from the lower part of the river. In fact, it is chiefly by the commerce with Paraguay, that the sailors of the river are formed; as it was there, also, that the only vessels used in its navigation were constructed. The greater part of the villages on the Parana, below the Paraguay, are composed of the civilized Guaranys; naturally a spiritless race, but rendered, if possible, still more tame and submissive by this change of life. The storms of the revolution have, probably, occasioned them but little uneasiness; they are, therefore, very indifferent materials for revolutionary purposes. I obtained, with difficulty, some answers to a few questions which I put to *Paraguayo*, respecting the navigation of the river. He said, that as the wind blew a great part of the year up the Parana and Paraguay, sloops used in its navigation, ascended with sails, that the voyage was long and tedious; it took five or six weeks to go to Assumption, the capital of Paraguay, about twelve hundred miles up; that there were many islands in the river, covered with wood,

near which they sometimes stopped and anchored for the night, as they only navigated in the day time. That the borders of the river from Buenos Ayres to Corrientes, seven or eight hundred miles, are very thinly inhabited, but that the soil is fertile, and banks not subject to inundation.

About day-break we found ourselves in the outer roads, about six miles from shore, where vessels of a larger size are obliged to moor, as the water is too shoal for them to approach nearer. A light fog rising soon after, prevented us from having a clear view of the city until after we had cast anchor among the smaller vessels, about half a mile from land. Phœbus at last lifted the curtain, and our impatient eyes beheld *the celebrated seat of liberty and independence of the south.* How different the thoughts which rushed across my mind from those which suggested themselves on my approach to Rio Janeiro! There is no king here—no hereditary nobility---*the power of the state is acknowledged to be in the people, and in no other.* If this be their guiding star, it must in the end bring them safely through, provided this be their motto. I care not for the present defects in the state of society, or the errors of government; the cause is a glorious one, and heaven will smile upon it. The public functionaries have been made, and can be unmade by them; of how many countries of the world can this be said? I own myself one of those who prefer the whirlwinds of democracy, to the stagnant pool of despotism. Never shall I again behold a scene more sublime; a people not only struggling against oppressive power, but against the errors and prejudices of centuries, and for the happiness of myriads yet unborn; a people who have followed our example, who admire our institutions, and who *may* settle down in rational and free government; for I view

even *the possibility of such a consummation, as something great.* Yes, they are destined to break the chains of slavery, ignorance, and superstition in the south, as we have in the north.

I shall endeavour to give the reader a rude sketch of the city, as it appeared to us, a task much easier than to convey the moral impressions left on the mind. It stretches along a high bank about two miles; its domes and steeples, and heavy masses of building, give it an imposing, but somewhat gloomy aspect. Immense piles of dingy brown coloured brick, with little variety, heavy and dull, showed that it did not take its rise under the patronage of liberty. Compared to Philadelphia or New York, it is a vast mass of bricks piled up without taste, elegance, or variety. The houses in some places, appear to ascend in stages; one story rising from the bottom of the bank, the second story leaving part of it as a terrace, and, in like manner, where the building rose to three stories, a second terrace was left, besides the roof of the house, which is invariably flat. The whole has the appearance of a vast fortification. The streets at regular intervals, open at right angles with the river, and their ascent is steep. Between the bank and the water's edge, there is a space of considerable width, rarely covered by the tides; a number of people were seen here presenting some appearance of the bustle of trade, while the border of the river, for more than a mile, was occupied by washerwomen, and the green sward covered with clothes spread out in the sun. Between the sward and the bank, the earth is bare, but some poplar trees are planted with seats underneath,* and this appears

* I have often in the evenings seen groups of the old Spaniards, (the word *old* is used to distinguish the European from the

to be a kind of mall or promenade. There projects out into the water, a long narrow pier or wharf, composed of a mass of stone and earth, and which is said to have cost the king of Spain half a million of dollars, the stone used in its construction having been brought from the island of Martin Garcia, at the mouth of the Uruguay; excepting at high tides, it by no means answers the purpose for which it was intended. To the left of this, looking towards the city, at the distance of a few hundred yards, stands the fort or castle, its walls extending down to the water's edge, and mounted with cannon. But, as it is not likely that an enemy would attempt a landing in front of the city, and as no shipping can approach within gun-shot, it can be of little importance in a military point of view; it is, in fact, without a garrison, and the buildings within have been occupied for public offices, and the residence of the viceroys under the old regime, and of the directors since the revolution; while the cannon are used only in firing salutes. Centinels, however, are seen pacing the walls, and the blue and white flag waving over their heads. About a mile below this, the high bank suddenly tends inward, leaving a vast level plain, which seems to be partly in cultivation, and partly in pasture grounds, inclosed in the manner of the country, and through which a stream, as large as the Christiana, at Wilmington, enters the river, affording a good harbour for the smaller craft, as also at its mouth, where there is a kind of circular basin. In

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American) collected here, or wandering about like Stygian ghosts, with a settled something in their looks which language cannot pourtray.

looking up the river to our right, the city terminates in detached seats and gardens.

Our boat having been prepared, I embarked with Lieutenant Clack, Mr. Breeze, the purser, Dr. Baldwin, and the owner of the *malacabada*. It was necessary to make some arrangements at the custom-house, with respect to our baggage, to prevent unpleasant detention: Mr. Rodney and Commodore Sinclair declined going on shore. As it was low water, it was so shallow, that our boat, though small, could not approach, we were therefore compelled to get into a cart, according to custom, and to be thus ferried to shore, at least a hundred yards. These carts would appear in our country of a most awkward and clumsy structure. They are drawn by two horses; the wheels are of an enormous size, and the quantity of wood employed in the structure of the vehicle, one might suppose, would be a load of itself. I am told that within a few years past, an English carriage or waggon-maker has established himself in the city, and has already made a fortune by constructing carts and waggons on a more modern plan; that his price, at first, for a common two-horse waggon, was five hundred dollars, but since they have become in more general use, it has fallen one half; but it will be a considerable time before the present clumsy, and inconvenient machines, will be superseded. It will happen here, as in every thing else, that the progress of improvement will be slow.

On our landing, we found very few persons on the wharf, attracted, as might have been expected, by curiosity. The fact is, we had taken them by surprise; and, as I afterwards learned, it was a source of some chagrin, that they had not had an opportunity of making some display on the occasion. It was natural to expect,

that personages to whom the people attached so much importance, should make their appearance with something more of parade. But I hope this disappointment was more than compensated, by giving them a practical example of the simplicity and humility of true republicanism, which places little or no importance in that outward show or ceremony, which is more properly a cloak for emptiness and conceit, than any part of native worth and dignity.

Our friend was taken by the hand by a young officer, in a neat uniform, and his manner gave me a very favourable idea of the relation in this place between the citizen and the soldier. These two young men were probably educated together, and were playmates in the same town; they had only embraced different occupations, one entering the counting-house, and the other the army, but without placing themselves in different ranks or orders of society. There was something of militia in the manner of the officer, which I cannot describe, which strongly associated itself with recollections of my own country, and very different from what I had witnessed in Brazil, where the military constitute an order as distinct, as if of a different race of men. There was no difficulty in making the arrangements before mentioned. While the boat returned to the vessel, I went in company with the gentlemen before mentioned in quest of lodgings. There are several tolerable public houses, chiefly kept by foreigners. We succeeded in obtaining comfortable quarters, at about the same price as in the cities of the United States.

I had no sooner been comfortably settled in my lodgings, than I felt impatient to take a stroll through the town. The streets are straight and regular, like those of Monte Video; a few of them are paved, but hollow

in the middle. The houses are pretty generally two stories high, with flat roofs, and, for the most part, plastered on the outside; which, without doubt, at first, improved their appearance, but by time and neglect, they have become somewhat shabby. There are no elegant rows of buildings as in Philadelphia, or New York, but many are spacious, and all take up much more ground than with us. The reason of this is, that they have large open courts, or varandas, both in front and rear, which are called *patios*. These patios are not like our yards, enclosed by a wall or railing; their dwellings, for the most part, properly compose three connected buildings, forming as many sides of a square; the wall of the adjoining house making up the fourth. In the centre of the front building there is a gate-way, and the rooms on either hand, as we enter, are in general occupied as places of business, or merchants' counting rooms; the rear building is usually the dining-room, while that on the left, or the right, (as it may happen,) is the sitting room or parlour. The patio is usually paved with brick, and sometimes with marble, and is a cool and delightful place. Grape-vines are planted round the walls, and at this season, are loaded with their fruit. The houses have as little wood as possible about them; both the first and second floor having brick pavements; fire engines are therefore unknown, together with that uneasiness from this angry element when once master, so much felt in our cities. There are no chimnies, but those of kitchens. At all the windows, there is a light iron grating, which projects about one foot; probably a remnant of Spanish jealousy. The compactness of the town, the flatness of the roofs, the incombustibility of the houses, the open court yards, which resemble the area of forts, and the iron gratings, compose a complete fortification, and

I do not know a worse situation in which an enemy could be, than in one of these streets. It is not surprising, that a city so well fortified, should have so effectually resisted the army of twelve thousand men, under general Whitlock. The only mode by which it could be assailed, would be by first obtaining a complete command of the country around it, and of the river in front. This would require a greater effort than Spain can make, even if she were to abandon all her other colonies, and unite for the special purpose, all the forces she is able to spare out of her Spanish dominions.

But little attention is paid to the cleanliness of the streets; in one of the front streets, where there was no pavement, I observed several deep mud holes; into these, dead cats and dogs are sometimes thrown, from too much indolence to carry them out of the way. The side walks are very narrow, and in bad repair; this is better than at Rio Janeiro, where there are none at all. I observed, however, as I went along, a number of convicts, as I took them to be, engaged in mending the bad places already mentioned. In these particulars, I was very much reminded of New Orleans; in fact, in many other points, I observed a striking resemblance between the two cities. I can say but little for the police, when compared to our towns; but this place manifests a still greater superiority over Rio Janeiro; and many important improvements, that have been introduced within a few years past, were pointed out to me. It would be well, however, to bestow some trouble in cleaning those streets that are paved, and in paving the rest; as well as in freeing the fronts of their houses from the quantity of dust collected, wherever it can find a resting place.

But it is time to speak of the inhabitants of the city,

and of the people who frequent it. And here, whether illusion or reality, I had not walked far, before I felt myself in a land of freedom. There was an independence, an ingenuousness in the carriage, and an expression in the countenances of those I met, which reminded me of my own country; an air of freedom breathed about them, which I shall not attempt to describe. I felt the force of that beautiful thought of Moore, in his Lalla Rookh;

> " ——————— who with heart and eyes
> Could walk where liberty has been, nor see
> The shining foot prints of her deity;
> Nor feel those god-like breathings in the air,
> Which mutely told her spirit had been there?"

I saw nothing but the plainness and simplicity of republicanism; in the streets, there were none but plain citizens, and citizen soldiers; some of the latter, perhaps, shewing a little of the coxcomb, and others exhibiting rather a *militia appearance*, not the less agreeable to me on that account. In fact, I could almost have fancied myself in one of our own towns, judging by the dress and appearance of the people whom I met. Nothing can be more different than the population of this place, from that of Rio. I saw no one bearing the insignia of nobility, except an old crazy man, followed by a train of roguish boys. There were no palanquins, or rattling equipages; in these matters, there was much less luxury and splendour than with us. The females, instead of being immured by jealousy, are permitted to walk abroad and breathe the common air. The supreme director has no grooms, gentlemen of the bed chamber, nor any of the train which appertains to royalty, nor has his wife any maids of honor; his household is more plain than that of most of the private gentlemen of

fortune in our own country; it is true, when he rides out to his country seat, thirty miles off, he has accompanied by half a dozen horsemen, perhaps a necessary precaution, considering the times, and which may be dispensed with on the return of peace; or perhaps, a remnant of anti-republican barbarity, which will be purged away by the sun of a more enlightened age; indeed, I am informed, that the present director lives in a style of much greater simplicity than any of his predecessors.

If I were to stop here, however, I should not give a faithful picture of the appearance to a stranger, of the population of Buenos Ayres; the mixture of negroes and mulattoes, is by no means remarkable, not as great, perhaps, as in Baltimore, and the proportion of the military, such as we might have seen in one of our towns, during the last war, with the exception of the black troops, which, in this city constitute a principal part of the regular force. But there are other figures which enter into the picture, and give a different cast to the whole from any thing I have seen. The modern European and North American civilization, and I will add South American, which differs but little from the others, was set off by a strange mixture of antiquity and aboriginal rudeness. Buenos Ayres may very justly be compared to the bust of a very beautiful female, placed upon a pedestal of rude unshapen stone. Great numbers of *gauchos*,* and other country people, are

* The gauchos of this province differ from those of the Banda Oriental. The degree of civilization they possess, may be estimated by the distance at which they live from the metropolis, and the frequency of their intercourse with the people of the town. The *wild* gaucho is almost a curiosity even here—"The peace and commerce of Buenos Ayres, have a happy and continually improving effect upon the neighbouring inhabitants of the pampas." Mr. Beaud's report.

seen in the streets, and always on horseback; and as there prevails a universal passion for riding, the number of horses is very great. The European mode of caparisoning is occasionally seen, but most usually, the bridle and saddle, would be regarded as curiosities by us. The stirrups of the *gauchos* are so small, as to admit little more than the big toe of the rider, who makes a very grotesque figure with his long flowing poncho. This is a kind of striped cotton, or woollen rug, of the manufacture of the country, fine or coarse, according to the purse of the wearer, with nothing but a slit in the middle, through which the head is thrust, and hangs down perfectly loose, resembling somewhat a waggoner's frock. In rain, it answers the purposes of a big coat, and in hot weather, is placed on the saddle. It is also used for sleeping on, as the Indians use their blanket. It is possible after all, that this singularity of dress, may not make any great difference in the man. There is nothing remarkable in the complexion or features, excepting where there happens to be a little dash of the Indian. There is more of indolence, and *vacancy*, (if I may use the word,) in the expression in their countenances, and an uncouth wildness of their appearance; but it must be remembered, that we also of the north are reproached by Europeans for our carelessness of time, and our lazy habits. These *guuchos*, I generally observed, clustered about the *pulperias*, or grog shops; of which there are great numbers in the city and suburbs; they frequently drink and carouse on horseback, while the horses of those that are dismounted, continue to stand still without being fastened, as they are all taught to do, and champing the bit. These carousing groups would afford excellent subjects for Flemish painters. The horses, though not of a large size, are all finely formed; I do not recollect a

single instance in which I did not remark good limbs, and well formed head and neck. The *gauchos* are often bare footed and bare legged; or, instead of boots, make use of the skin of the hind legs of the horse; the joint answering the purpose of a heel, and furnishing a very cheap kind of suwarrow.

Besides the clumsy carts of which I have before spoken, and the class of people that I have just described, my attention was attracted by the appearance of the great ox waggons, used in the trade with the interior. They are of an enormous size, and are the most clumsy contrivances imaginable. Five or six of these in a line, are sometimes seen groaning along the street, the wheels making a noise like the gates on their hinges of Milton's Pandemonium. The waggoners use no tar to prevent them from making this harsh noise, as they say it is *music* to the oxen, which are, in general, uncommonly large, and the finest that I ever saw. Their yokes, in proportion, are as ponderous as the waggon, and in drawing, nothing is used but the raw hide strongly twisted. In fact, this is the only kind of gears, or traces, used for all descriptions of carriages. To each of these enormous waggons there are, generally, at least three drivers. One sits in the waggon, with a long rod or goad in his hand, and above his head, suspended in slings, there is a bamboo or cane, at least thirty feet in length, as supple as a fishing rod, so that it can, occasionally, be used to quicken the pace of the foremost pair of oxen, which are fastened to the first by a long trace of twisted hide. The interval between the different pairs of oxen, is rendered necessary by the difficulty of crossing small rivers, whose bottoms are bad, and which are subject to sudden rises. Another driver takes his seat on the yoke, between the heads of the second pair of oxen, being also armed with

a goad, with its point turned backwards; there was something extremely ludicrous to me, in the appearance of this last; his bare, brawny legs dangling in the air, and nothing but a folded sheep skin to sit upon; yet content or rather inanity, was pictured in his countenance. Besides these two, there is a third on horseback, armed in the same manner. If such an exhibition were to pass through one of our streets, with its slow and solemn movement and *musical* groanings, I doubt not, but it would attract as much attention as half a dozen elephants.

As this is the fruit season, a number of people were crying peaches up and down the street, but on horseback, with large panniers, made of the raw hides of oxen, on each side. Milk, in large tin cannisters, was cried about in the same way, and as they passed in a tolerable trot, I expected every moment to hear the cry changed to that of butter. As I moved along towards the great square, a part of which is the principal market place, (immediately in front of the castle, or government house,) there appeared to be a great throng of people. I met some priests and friars, but by no means as many as I expected, and nothing like the number I met at Rio Janeiro. There are, perhaps, fewer monasteries and convents in Buenos Ayres, than in any Spanish town in the world. But, as things are very much judged of by comparison, it is highly probable, that if I had not touched at the place before mentioned, *and had come directly here from one of our cities,* I should have considered the number of regular and secular clergy very considerable. It must be constantly kept in view, that, in order to judge of these people fairly, we are to compare them with Spanish or Portuguese, and *look at what they have been,* not to the state of things in the United States. The dress

of the seculars when in their canonicals, is like that of the episcopal clergy, except that they wear a broad quaker hat. The monks and friars are easily distinguished by their habit of coarse cloth or flannel, girt round the waist, and with a cowl or hood behind. In speaking of the Catholic clergy, we, who know little about them, are very much in the habit of confounding these two classes. They are very different, both in character and appearance. The seculars are, necessarily, men of education, and living and mingling in society, participate in the feelings of the people, and cannot avoid taking part in temporal affairs. The monks, on the contrary, are *gregarious*, not dispersed through the society, but shut up in their convents and monasteries, and not permitted to mingle in the affairs of the world. From the first, it is natural to expect liberality and intelligence, as well as from other christian clergy, but, in the latter, it would not be surprising to find superstition and ignorance.

On approaching the market place, as it was still early in the day, I found that the crowd had not entirely dispersed. There is no market house or stalls, except in the meat market, situated on one corner of the square which fronts on the plaza. Every thing offered for sale was spread on the ground. I can say but little in favour of the appearance of cleanliness; dirt and filth appeared to have a prescriptive right here. One who had never seen any other than a Philadelphia market, can form no idea of the condition of this place. To make amends, it is admirably supplied with all the necessaries and delicacies, that an abundant and fruitful country can afford. Beef, mutton, fowls, game, &c., with a variety of excellent fish, were here in great plenty, and for prices, which, in our markets, would be considered very low. Beef,

particularly, is exceedingly cheap, and of a superior quality; it is the universal dish, chiefly roasted. Absolute want is scarcely known in this country, any more than with us. As I passed by the hucksters stalls, they presented a much richer display than any I had been accustomed to see. Here, apples, grapes, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, figs, pine-apples, water-melons, were mingled in fair profusion.

The plaza, or great square, is at least twice as large as the state house yard in Philadelphia, and is unequally divided into two parts, by an edifice long and low, which serves as a kind of bazaar, or place of shops, with a corridor on each side the whole length, which is used as a shelter for the market people. At these shops or stores, which are pretty well supplied, they can make their purchases without the trouble of wandering through the town. The space between this and the fort, is that appropriated for the market. The opposite side, which is much larger, is a *kind of place d'armes;* and fronting the building just spoken of, and which intercepts the view of the fort, there is a very fine edifice, called the cabildo, or town house, somewhat resembling that of New Orleans, but much larger. In this building the courts hold their sessions, and the offices are kept. The city council, or cabildo, also sits here, and business of all kinds, relating to the police, is here transacted. Near the centre of the square, a neat pyramid has been erected, commemorative of the revolution, with four emblematic figures, one at each corner, representing justice, science, liberty, and America, the whole enclosed with a light railing.

The shops, or stores, as far as I observed, in my perambulation through the city, are all on a very small scale, and make no shew as in our towns. There are

but few signs, and those belong chiefly to foreigners; such as *sastre, botero, sapatero, de Londres;* taylor, bootmaker, shoemaker, from London. The greater part of the trades which are now flourishing here, particularly hatters, blacksmiths, and many others that I might enumerate, have been established since the revolution; the journeymen mechanics are chiefly half Indians and mulattoes. The wages of an American or English journeyman, are higher than in any part of the world: fifteen hundred, or two thousand dollars per annum, I am told are very commonly given. There are other squares through the town, besides the one already mentioned, in which markets are held.

There are also large yards, or *corrals,* which belong to the city, and are hired to individuals, for the purpose of confining droves of cattle. I observed several large wood yards, in which there were immense piles of peach limbs, tied into bundles or faggots, together with timber and firewood brought from Paraguay, or the Brazils.

In receding from the river towards the country, the streets wear a much more mean appearance, being very dirty, and apparently much neglected, while the houses seldom exceed one story in height, and are built of brick scarcely half burnt. In walking from the front streets, we seemed to be transferred, at once, to some half civilized village, a thousand miles in the interior. Every where in the skirts of the town, much of the Indian race is visible, generally a very poor, harmless, and indolent people. They commonly speak nothing but Spanish, and but for their complexion, and inanimate countenances, they could not be distinguished from the lower orders of the Spanish Americans, such as the labourers, carters, countrymen, and

gauchos. It would be worth inquiring into the cause, why none of the aborigines are found, in this manner, near any of our towns, which possess the population and opulence of Buenos Ayres. It surely does not arise from their having been treated with more kindness here, or more pains having been taken in their civilization, or, because the nations in the vicinity were more numerous? I am inclined to attribute it to two causes; the first is, that the early settlers on this river were soldiers, and having few Spanish women with them, they were compelled, like the Romans, to procure wives from their neighbours, which laid the groundwork for a more friendly intercourse between them and the natives, and this continued even after the flourishing state of the colony enticed emigrants of both sexes from Old Spain. Or, it may be, that these Indians are of a less wild and untameable character than those of North America. But the principal reason is, the number of Indians that have found their way hither from the missions of Paraguay, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, and also from the provinces of Peru, where they were a civilized people on the first discovery and conquest. In forming our ideas of the aborigines of South America, only by what we know of those of the north, we may be led astray. Against Indians and Spaniards, we have strong prejudices in the United States; the man of sense should endeavour to rise above them.

On my way back to the hotel, I met a party of twenty or thirty pampas Indians on horseback, who had come to town, for the purpose of bartering skins for such things as they wanted. They excited no curiosity as they rode along the street, although tricked out with their nosebobs and earbobs, and except the poncho, which they wore, entirely naked.

They were rather taller, and more square shouldered than ours, but their physiognomy was very nearly the same.

At this season of the year, many of the principal inhabitants are still in the country, to which they retire for a few months, until the approach of cool weather. This is probably the most pleasant season of the year, but the climate is seldom otherwise than pleasant; the range of the thermometer rarely exceeds fifty degrees, and hardly ever rises within ten degrees as high as with us. In the vast plains, or pampas, which stretch from the margin of the river almost to the foot of the Cordilleras, where there is no shade or shelter, or next to none, the heat of the sun is said to be very oppressive; travellers therefore lie by in the middle of the day. The habit of the *siesta*, which prevails so universally in this country, is perhaps an excuse for this loss of time. It was now the hour here for this indulgence, and the change from the busy populous city, of a sudden, to the silence and loneliness which takes place on those occasions, was peculiarly striking. The inhabitants generally dine between one and two o'clock, and soon after, retire to take their evening's nap, which usually lasts until five or six, at which hour the devotees go to vespers, or evening prayers, in the churches. I saw, however, a greater number of persons in the streets than I had expected, and I am told, that of late years, the habit has been sensibly decreasing. It was formerly a saying, that during the siesta, none but dogs and foreigners were to be seen in the street. This is no longer true; the increase of business and active employments, having a good deal broken in upon a custom, which could only owe its origin to that indolence commonly proceeding from a want of incentive to action. Such an incentive,

must certainly have been furnished by the animated scenes of their revolution, and by the numerous and important changes which it has produced. In very hot climates, as in the West Indies, and the greater part of South America, there may be some reason for thus reposing in the middle of the day; the intense heat of the sun rendering it unpleasant and dangerous, to labour in the open fields, and the morning and evening affording them sufficient time to do all their work. Providence, perhaps, in equalizing the benefits of nature, has decreed, that people here should be circumscribed in their pursuits by the heat of the day, as in other countries by the coldness of the winter. Without such dispensations, the advantages would be too great on the side of the warm climates. The climate of Buenos Ayres, however, is not such as to render it necessary to avoid the sun in the heat of the day. It resembles very much that to the south of the Mississippi, in our Louisiana district of Texas, although not quite so warm in summer, nor yet so cold in winter. The south-west winds of the winter, are exceedingly piercing, although there is very seldom sufficient cold to incrust the water with ice, but the frequent rains which fall at this season, renders it damp and chilly, as at New Orleans. The climate of the southern latitudes, although they do not accord with the same degree, north of the equator, in the eastern hemisphere, are yet several degrees warmer than in North America. This place is situated in about thirty-five degrees south, and ought therefore to correspond with the climate of Norfolk. But less cold is felt here, than in Charleston or New Orleans. This is an important consideration, with respect to the territory of the republic, to the southward of this place. Molina, the historian of Chili, has taken pains to dis-

prove, in his work, to which I would refer the reader, the prevalent idea of the excessive cold of Patagonia. I think it highly probable, that as high south as latitude fifty degrees, the climate is at least as mild as that of Philadelphia. On some other occasion, when I come to speak of the geography of this vast country, I will say more on this subject.

The day after we arrived was Sunday, and the streets were crowded wit people. I was very frequently reminded of my former place of residence, New Orleans, with the exception that the proportion of coloured people is comparatively very small, but amongst the lower classes I remarked a great many of Indian extraction; this was discovered in the complexion and feateres. The inhabitants generally are a shade browner than those of North America; but I saw a great number with good complexions. They are a handsome people. They have nothing in their appearance and character, of that dark, jealous and revengeful disposition, we have been in the habit of attributing to Spaniards. The men dress pretty much as we do, but the women are fond of wearing black, when they go abroad. The fashion of dress, in both sexes, I am informed, has undergone great improvement, since their free intercourse with strangers. The old Spaniards, of whom there are considerable numbers, are easily distinguished by their darker complexion, the studied shabbiness of their dress, and the morose and surly expression of countenance: this arises, from their being treated as a sort of Jews, by those whom they were wont to consider as greatly their inferiors. They are also distinguished by not mounting the blue and white cockade, which is universally worn by the citizens of the republic. The same number of Chinese, could scarcely form a class more distinct from the rest of the

community. There can hardly be a greater affront offered to an *Americano del Sud*, than to call him a Spaniard. A young fellow told me, in a jesting way, that the monks, friars, and Spaniards, were generally old, and would soon die off, which he said was a great consolation.

I went round to several of the churches, of which there are ten or fifteen throughout the city. I shall not trouble the reader with a description of them, as by referring to books he can learn their names, and the years in which they were founded. All I shall say is, that those I saw, were immense masses of buildings, particularly the cathedral, which of itself covers almost a whole square. The internal decorations are generally rich and splendid, and the pomp of catholic worship is displayed here, pretty much as it is in other parts of the world. My attention was more attracted, by the crowds of beautiful women, going and coming to the churches, and the graceful elegance of their carriage. They walk more elegantly than any women I ever saw. They are seen usually in family groups, but according to the custom of the country, seldom attended by gentlemen. There are usually a few beggars about the church doors, all blind, or decrepid with age. I am informed, there are two convents in the city, but I did not go to see them, as I was told the nuns were all old and ugly.

A very animated and martial scene was presented to me, by the exercising of the regular troops, and civic militia. The black regiments made an uncommonly fine appearance, and seemed to be in a very high state of discipline. The civic militia is said to be fully as well trained as the regulars. I saw several very fine bands of music. A battalion of slaves, consisting of five or six hundred men, was also mustered, and then

marched to one of the churches. With all these things going on, the city exhibited one of the most animating scenes I had ever witnessed. They are certainly a more enthusiastic, and perhaps warlike people, than we are; if they possessed, with these qualities, by way of ballast, something of our *steady habits*, and general stock of information, I think they would nearly equal us.

In the afternoon, in company with Dr. Baldwin, and a gentleman with whom I became acquainted, I resolved, if possible, to breathe the air outside of the city; and being pedestrians, we resolved to take it on foot, though horses might have been had, either to *buy*, or *hire* for the trip; the difference in price for these two modes of obtaining them, does not quite bear the same proportion as with us. It would have cost us, probably, one dollar and an half, or two dollars, for the hiring, while a very good hackney might be bought for ten; but then it would cost, at the livery stable, three or four dollars a week to keep him.

We directed our course up the river; the doctor was very anxious to reach the open fields, for the purpose of pursuing his botanical researches, and I was equally desirous of reaching some high ground, whence I might have a better view of the city and its environs. We passed through a large square, the greater part of which is occupied by an extensive circus, open at the top, called the *toro*, or place for bull fighting. It is capable of containing a vast concourse of people. But I was glad to hear that this barbarous amusement is fast going into disrepute, and that few of the respectable people now attend it. It is not surprising, that it should have been a place of fashionable resort, when it was attended by the viceroy and his court, with much show and parade. Under the revolutionary go-

vernments, it has been discountenanced, and should any member of the government attend it, he mingles in the crowd of citizens. But there may be a still better reason; these are amongst the contrivances of monarchy, to withdraw the attention of its subjects from things that really concern them. The minds of these people are now turned upon much more important objects than bull fights. But the custom still prevails, and it would be imprudent at once to abolish it; in this, as in other matters, the reformer should go to work with a cautious hand. As lent is now nearly over, I am informed that the circus and the theatre, are to open next week. I will here mention another instance of reform, which does honour to the present director. This is in abolishing the silly custom which prevailed here, as well as at Rio, of throwing wax balls filled with water, at people in the street, during three days, at the end or commencement of the carnival, I do not recollect which. He effected it by a simple appeal through the medium of the newspapers, to their good sense, and their regard for those manners, which distinguish a polite from a barbarous people.

We continued our walk about two miles beyond the town, but appeared to be no nearer the open fields, being completely enclosed on all sides, by what are here called quintas, which are large gardens of several acres, with abundance of fruit trees and vegetables. Many of these are owned by the inhabitants of the city, but they chiefly belong to people, who make a living by attending the market. There are very few of those neat dwellings which are seen about our cities; the houses here are chiefly small, and built of very indifferent brick. The grape vine, however, with which they are fond of adorning their houses, had to me a very pleasing appearance, particularly when loaded

with their exquisite fruit. We stopped into one, where our friend was acquainted, and were received with much politeness and civility by the inhabitants; their countenances seeming to brighten up, when told we were Americans of the north. They treated us with fine peaches, pears, grapes, and melons. Instead of pales, or fences, hedges of the prickly pear are invariably used, which are planted on the mound of earth, thrown up in digging the ditch on the outside. The soil is like that of our best river bottoms, and its particles are so fine, that the road at this season of the year is intolerably dusty.

On our way back to town, our friend induced us to stop at a spacious mansion, where there resided a gentleman whom he knew, named La Rocca. This gentleman's establishment forms a prominent exception to what I have just been describing; his grounds are surrounded by a brick wall; his buildings, gardens, &c. all upon a more extensive scale. We entered through a lofty gate-way, into a spacious court. The servant informed us that his master, with several other gentlemen, was on the terrace at the top of the house, and at our request conducted us up. I was glad of the occasion, as I was told that there was a very fine view from this place. We were treated by La Rocca with great attention, and we found him a man of liberal and enlightened mind. He is a native of old Spain, but has been naturalized, and has taken an active part in the revolution. He pointed out to us a beautiful grove of olives, which he had planted after the Spanish system, which forbade the cultivation of this invaluable plant, had been abolished. The other gentlemen who were with him, were his nighbours, natives of the country, and were sensible and well informed. I learned from them, that our arrival had ex-

cited great interest throughout the city, and that many conjectures as to our object were afloat. They seemed all to agree, that nothing of an unfriendly nature could be expected from our government, and seemed to be very much hurt at the unfavourable impressions which had been made in the United States as to the state of things in this country, by publications in the newspapers. They said that they had no right to expect any friendship or sympathy from us, if their institutions were really so vile as had been represented. They said, it was natural to expect, that as their enemies were not able to subdue them, they would endeavour to ruin their character; and for this purpose, they would seize and magnify every real, or alleged error, or misconduct. La Rocca here drew an animated comparison between the state of things in Spain, and in this country, highly favourable, as may be supposed, to the latter. He told me it was their intention to establish a government as nearly resembling that of the United States, as circumstances would permit. He inquired, with a considerable earnestness, as to the truth of a report of our government having endeavoured to obtain a cession of territory from the king of Naples, and laid great stress on the circumstance of our having no colonies, and from the nature of our constitution, not being permitted to have any. He said it was impossible for them to repose full confidence in the friendship of nations holding colonies, and they were sorry to see us deviating in the slightest degree from what they understood was with us a fundamental maxim. If we could have colonies in Italy, we might have them in America, in Africa, and in Asia.

As the house stood upon ground somewhat more elevated than the city, and not more than three hundred

yards from the river, there was a very extensive horizon in every direction. In a clear day, Colonia, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from this place; but at present, as the atmosphere was somewhat obscured, and a stiff north-easter blowing, nothing was presented to the eye but a vast expanse of water, the Mosqueto fleet of sloops, and small coasting vessels, tossing about below us, and those of a larger kind anchored in the outer roads; the whole having a very dreary appearance. On the land side, we seemed to look over the city, which covers an extent of ground nearly as great as Philadelphia, with quintas up and down the river, whose variety of fruit trees, with here and there a Lombardy poplar intermixed, exhibited a very lively and pleasing appearance; while to the westward, at the distance of a few miles, there seems to be a boundless waste of pampas, or grassy plains, without a tree or shrub. The whole population of the country is not greater than that of the city. In fact, the real limits of the province are exceedingly circumscribed. About forty miles north of this, is a large village called Luxan, at which the road branches off for Cordova and Mendoza, there commences a line of *presidios*, extending southerly across the Salado to the river Colorada, which marks the southern boundary of the province. This line of posts was originally established for the purpose of protecting the settlements from the incursions of the wild pampas Indians, who were then a most dangerous and formidable enemy. But of late years, they have ceased to be dreaded, and their incursions have only for their object, stealing cattle and horses. While I am upon this subject, I will say something as to the manner in which the population is distributed in this country,

intending to enlarge on the subject on some future occasion.

Under the viceroyalty, a line of two hundred and fifty miles north and south, and a hundred miles east and west, would have included the whole population of the province; but this was distributed in a manner singularly unequal; some parts being as thickly inhabited as the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and the rest as wild as the plains of the Missouri. Since the revolution, the frontier has been considerably extended, and this province, as well as the others of the union, which have been exempt from the immediate devastations of war, have had a considerable increase of inhabitants. The city of Buenos Ayres, and its vicinity, probably ten miles square, contains about seventy thousand inhabitants; the villages of Luxan, Ensenada, Las Couchas, and a few others, with their circumscribed vicinages, may contain from two to five thousand, and as the whole population does not exceed one hundred and five thousand, all the remainder of the province is left for the rest, not exceeding fifteen or twenty thousand in number. Immediately around the towns and villages, are the quintas of which I have spoken, chiefly appropriated to the raising of vegetables and fruits; next come the larger farms, or chacras, where wheat, Indian corn, and barley, are raised as with us; but according to a very different, and as far as I can learn, a very inferior system of agriculture. These have not the same aversion to neighbourhood, as the old Virginia planter, who declared, he never would wish to live so near as to hear the barking of his neighbours' dogs. The mode of cultivating the earth, of enclosing their grounds, and their rural economy in general, would furnish many

curious topics; but these I must waive for the present. The soil is, undoubtedly, the finest in the world; but they labour under great disadvantages from a deficiency of water, as the streams, which are not numerous, are apt to go dry in summer. They are therefore compelled to make reservoirs for the reception of rain water, when at too great a distance from the river. Their crops are, notwithstanding, superior to ours, and are rarely known to fail. In the uncultivated waste which spreads around these specks of civilization, are what are called the *estancias*, or grazing farms, which constitute the principal fortunes of the rich, and are of various dimensions, some as large as our townships, or even counties. They have from twenty to sixty thousand head of cattle, on one of these estates. Before the revolution, they were valued at about one dollar for every head of cattle; for the land was scarcely taken into the account. Since that period, the value of both has more than doubled. From this, it will be seen, that a grazing farm in the Opeloussa, of ten or fifteen thousand head, valued at ten dollars each, is worth as much as an *estancia* here of fifty thousand. The care of these is consigned to those half horse half men, of whom I have already spoken, under the appellation of *gauchos*.

Since the revolution there has been a much greater disposition to settle in the country than formerly; arising, no doubt, from the enhanced price of the produce of the soil; and also from the greater safety from Indian depredations. Whether the people consider themselves more secure in their titles, I shall not take upon me to say; but I am assured that no uneasiness, or fear, prevails as to their safety from Spanish invasion. La Rocca, and his friends, inquired

with considerable eagerness about the European emigration to the United States, which they looked upon as an increase of wealth and strength, the acquisition of which they appeared to envy us. They said that every inducement was held out by the government and people of this country, to Europeans who were disposed to emigrate; that lands were offered gratis, with oxen and the implements of husbandry, to those who wish to cultivate the earth. In reply, I told them, that there was little or no emigration to the United States during our revolutionary war, and even for some time afterwards, in consequence of the country being engaged in a war for national existence, the success of which was doubtful; and even after it was no longer so, our enemies persisted in believing that we could not establish a government. I told them that if they could satisfy the world on these two points, as we had done, they would have as many emigrants as they could desire, as their soil and climate held out even greater inducements than ours.

On the Monday after our arrival, it was determined, on the part of the commissioners, that I should wait on Mr. Tagle, the secretary of state, and request an interview on their behalf.

I accordingly went in company with our consul, Mr. Halcey. We found at the entrance of the fort, a centinel, and a guard of a few men; although every person is permitted to pass without being questioned. To me, as an American, the circumstance of seeing bayonets stationed every where, was far from being agreeable. In our happy country we stand in no need of such barbarous usages. This military show about the director's residence and the offices of government is, however, but a remnant of the pageantry of the viceroys. There is, indeed, much more of it dis-

played, as I have myself frequently witnessed, by the Spanish or Portuguese governor of some trifling district.

In going to the office of the secretary of state, we had to pass through several others, in which a number of clerks were engaged; the appearance of system and regularity, which prevailed, would not lose by a comparison with ours. We found the secretary immersed in business, at his desk. I stated to him the occasion of my visit, and at the same time presented a newspaper, containing the president's message, in which the objects of the mission were succinctly set forth. I stated to him, that the commissioners were desirous of waiting on him, and wished to be informed at what time it would be convenient for him to receive them. He replied, in the style of Spanish politeness, that he was always at their disposal, and insisted upon my naming the time at which he might be honoured with their visit; the Wednesday following was therefore named by me. He is a small well set man, about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, with a keen penetrating eye. He has the reputation of considerable abilities; he is considered a very able and eloquent lawyer, and has been a judge of the chamber of appeals. Judging from his physiognomy, I should say that he possesses great native sagacity, and quickness of discernment. He came into office under Alvarez, and has continued in it ever since.

Our arrival produced a great sensation through the city in all classes of people; it was every where the subject of conversation, and gave rise to much surmise; for some days it in fact engrossed all the public attention. A small incident will sometimes speak

more than things of a thousand times greater importance. In passing by the pyramid, in the great square, I observed, that some preparations had been making for an approaching illumination, on account of the declaration of independence by Chili; I asked a little boy who was playing about it, what was the meaning of these preparations? "*Por la funcion;*" "*què funcion?*" "*La funcion de los diputados,*" said he pettishly, as if surprised at my ignorance, "*de los diputados que han llegado de la America del nórte.*"* I have no doubt, the government and the people, will make the most of the mission, and it will certainly have a most powerful moral influence on the cause of South America. And what is this moral effect? History and experience sufficiently shew that it is great, whatever may be the cause. Man is a moral agent, governed by intelligence, and urged forward by the impulse of his feelings and passions. This is the fountain and secret of his strength and power. All the worth and value of man, in society, is made up of honour, character, estimation, and opinion.

Still it is asked, what this moral effect can be? I am surprised that any one should not be able to conceive it, and it is one of those things that we feel impatience in analysing. None but saints and savages are absolutely beyond the sphere of this moral influence. In being noticed by a respectable nation, these people are led to think, that their arduous contest is at last drawing to a close, and that the world

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* "For the celebration:" "What celebration?" "The celebration of the deputies—the deputies who have arrived from North America."

begins to look upon their cause as just. And in the language of Shakespeare,

"Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just."

In a word, it tends to rouse the despondent, to fix the wavering, and dispose all to contribute more cheerfully to the preservation of that which has been thus enhanced in value. They will be more proud of what they have done, they will be more watchful of the character of their country, and they will make infinitely greater sacrifices and exertions for its future preservation. Such is the importance which these people attach to the simple acknowledgment of their government, that I sincerely believe, that there is hardly a man among them, who would not give half he is worth, that it should take place. And yet, unaccompanied by aid and assistance, one would suppose it would do them but little good, but they think otherwise; they think it places them upon higher ground, and strengthens their cause; *that opinion itself is strength.*

The commissioners, on the day appointed, paid their respects to the secretary of state, and Mr. Rodney, after stating the objects of the mission, expressed the wishes of himself and associates, to wait on the supreme director. The secretary stated, that the government was highly gratified by this notice, from a nation of so high a character as ours, and he offered his services to accompany the commissioners on their visit to the chief mag. trate.

Accordingly, the next day, about noon, we set off to pay this visit of ceremouy. On approaching the fort, we found several hundred of the most respectable citizens drawn together by the interest of the occasion, their dress, appearance, and demeanour, was

like that of persons of the same rank of society in the United States. Nothing I had yet seen gave me so high an opinion of the population. We found also, considerable numbers inside the fort, and crowding the entrance to the director's apartments. I can give no idea of the pleasure which seemed to be depicted in their countenances. They all bowed to us as we passed, and said more by their smiles and their looks, than they could have said, if each one had pronounced an oration. In passing through the different offices, to that of the secretary of state, we saw a great number of civil officers and functionaries, drawn together by what appeared to be no common holiday, and who showed us the same marks of respect. The secretary now joined us, and led us up stairs, to the apartments occupied by the director. We passed through a large hall, where we saw fifty or sixty officers, of the regular and civic troops, all in splendid uniforms. They arose as we entered, forming a line on each side, through which we passed. In the adjoining apartment, we were met by the director, who, with the ease and affability of a polished gentleman, advanced to meet us, and requested us to be seated. He seemed to be upwards of forty years of age, his stature about the middle size, a little inclining to corpulency, and upon the whole, his appearance commanding and dignified. His address and manners were those of a person accustomed to the best society, equally removed from coarseness and affectation. It was easily discoverable, that he was a man, who had been long accustomed to act a distinguished part in life. He certainly looked like a person who might be chosen by a nation for its magistrate, and no stranger could be surprised at seeing such a man at its head. Though a native of this place, his father was a Swiss,

who settled in this country as a merchant in early youth. His complexion is fair, with blue eyes; his countenance expressive of intelligence and humanity. He has the character of great application to business, and of that temperate energy, so essential in revolutionary times. Some, with no better opportunities of judging than myself, but possessing much deeper penetration into the secret workings of the human heart, could discover, that, like Belial, all within was false and hollow; but I must honestly acknowledge, that for my part, I could not.

After the usual compliments, and some conversation on general topics, Mr. Rodney repeated, in substance, what he had said, with respect to the object of the mission, to the secretary the day before.

On this, the director replied to the commissioners, as follows: He declared, that for his country, and for himself, he entertained the highest sense of the honour conferred, by this friendly notice on the part of the government of the United States. "We have long since been aware," said he, "that the most friendly feelings and wishes existed towards us, on the part of your country and government. We have ever regarded your country with enthusiastic admiration. We appreciate fully its high character for justice, disinterestedness, and sincerity, and it is beyond the power of words to express, how gratifying to us all, is this proof of its good wishes. That there should exist a real and unfeigned friendship and sympathy between us is natural. We inhabit the same portion of the globe, our cause has been once yours, and we are in pursuit of the same objects, which you have so happily achieved.

"You will see many things amongst us, to excite your surprise. *We are a people who are just begin-*

ning to be. We have had great difficulties to encounter, and have laboured under extraordinary disadvantages. I feel confident, however, that when you come to be better acquainted with our country, you will find that the most ardent love of liberty and independence, pervades every part of this community; that in pursuit of these great objects, we are all united, and that we are resolved to perish, sooner than surrender them. At the same time, we must confess with deep regret, that dissentions still prevail between different sections of this republic, and which have unfortunately placed one of the most important portions of our country, in the hands of a stranger.

"With respect to the objects of the mission, I am anxious to meet the wishes of the commissioners in every particular. I hope all forms of diplomacy may be waived; that all communications may be held as between friends and brothers; that, whenever it may suit the pleasure or convenience of the commissioners, they will address themselves personally to me, or to the secretary of state, who will always be found at leisure to attend to them."

Mr. Rodney, having made a suitable reply to this address, of which I have given the substance, we took our leave.

In the course of the forenoon, a General Ascuenaga, and some other officers of distinction, made their appearance, for the purpose of returning our visit to the director, as I understand to be the custom on such occasions.* The general made a long harangue, which

* I could not distinguish between officers of the regular forces, and those who were only of the civic militia, the latter being in the habit of wearing their uniforms much more commonly than is usual with us, which gives the community more of a military cast.

did not amount to much, and then took his leave. Shortly after, we were waited on by the city council, or cabildo, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, and amongst them, a very sensible and intelligent man, Gascon, the secretary of the treasury. The conversation, of course, on these occasions, was very general. They were all, however, complimentary to our country, while they spoke in a very humble manner of the state of things in their own.

In the evening, a guard of honour and a band of music, with the baron Ollenburg, a German officer, in the service of the republic, and some other officers, made their appearance in the patio. It was given to be understood, that they had come by the orders of the director. They were politely received by the commissioners, but it was suggested in a delicate manner, that the guard could not be accepted. Upon this, it withdrew, but the band continued playing for several hours, and during that time, the patio was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and by a great many that could not with propriety be ranked under either of these denominations.

The dismissal of the guard was thought of sufficient importance to merit an explanation with the director. Mr. Rodney, and Mr. Bland, accordingly called upon him the next morning for this purpose. Mr. Rodney was going to state the circumstance, and the apology, when the director requested permission to anticipate what he was about to say. He said he was perfectly aware of the motives of the commissioners in declining to accept the guard. It was not offered under any idea that it was necessary for their safety, but that, according to the customs of the country, it was one of the modes of shewing respect to distinguished strangers; who were, however, perfectly at liberty to accept or not,

according to their pleasure. He said, that in order to satisfy his fellow citizens, who were desirous that every attention should be paid to the commissioners, as well as for the purpose of gratifying his own feelings, he was anxious that no mark of respect should be omitted. He had discharged his duty, and satisfied the expectations of the public.

If I might venture a conjecture, this is one of the remnants of Spanish parade; and when the guard was offered, it was not expected to be accepted. There is scarcely a country in the world but ours, in which this practice of posting military guards for mere show, does not prevail; and if we have seen here the foot-prints of liberty, *it must be owned, that the foot-prints of despotism have not yet been worn out.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Commissioners Visited by the Principal Inhabitants—Celebration of the Independence of Chili—The Bull Fights and Theatre.

After an ineffectual search of several days for a furnished house, where the mission might be accommodated, our consul, Mr. Halsey, had politely made an offer of his, which was large and commodious. It was accepted, though not without reluctance, from an unwillingness to put him to inconvenience. Several houses had been previously examined, but were not found suited to our purpose, not to speak of the extravagant demands of the owners. Some of the gentlemen who had taken lodgings, were glad to change their situations, in order to avoid being teazed to death by a certain race, not to be named in good housewifery. The brick floors of the chambers are supposed to favour the multiplication of these tormentors. For my part, I had been fortunate enough to procure a furnished room, for twelve dollars per month, in the house of a decent elderly widow; it was situated in the patio, a beautiful aromatic shrub on one side of the door, and a jessamine on the other, and the neatness and cleanliness which prevailed every where, could not be surpassed. I found my situation so comfortable, that I was unwilling to change it, even after the commissioners had been fixed in their new establishment. Donna Marcella was, besides, an acquain-

tance of some importance; she knew every one in the city, was shrewd and intelligent, and far from being inclined to hide her light under a bushel. Her house was much frequented by the middle class of people, and even occasionally by those of the higher ranks, if there can properly be said to be any distinction; for the equality prevailing in this respect, is much greater than in the United States; the transition is very sudden, from the respectable part of the community to the lowest grades; the difference can scarcely be considered as founded on the difference of occupations, and not always on purity of character, and correctness of deportment.

After the formalities and ceremonies of our reception by the authorities of the state and city, we had next to go through the duty of receiving and returning visits, which was attended with no small consumption of time. The proportion of the military and clergy among our visitors, led us to form rather an unfavourable opinion of their influence in society. In our cities, on occasions like the present, the most prominent persons, after those in public life, would be of the professions, the clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, gentlemen in easy circumstances, and merchants of standing. But some allowance was to be made for the warlike attitude this city has so long maintained, and the tendency of arms to arrogate all public attention and importance. I afterwards found, also, that many of the military *figurantes* were something like Dr. Ollapod, of the corps of the Galen's head, not soldiers by profession, but probably not wanting in courage to face an invading enemy. In the short and superficial conversations which usually took place, much information could not be gleaned; they generally turned upon the political events of the country. They uniformly

spoke with great humility of their political transactions, but dwelt with satisfaction on their efforts in war, and expressed no doubt or apprehension of their ultimate success. They lamented the want of general information, and in speaking of the Spanish mis-government, the neglect of education and morals was always the most prominent theme. The frequent changes and revolutions amongst them; the dissentions between different provinces, when a concentration of all their strength was necessary, and the instability of the government hitherto, were spoken of with evident regret. They contrasted these evils with the Elysian fields, which their imaginations represented to them in the United States; the country where factions and dissentions are unknown; where unity of sentiment and brotherly love every where prevail.'' This language could only be considered complimentary, for some of them, I found, were not ignorant of our "faults on both sides," although they had never read Mr. Carey's Olive Branch. We could do no less than compliment them in turn, and speak in high terms of the proofs they had given of national spirit.

Among our most distinguished visitors, were Alvarez and Rondeau, the former a young man of twenty-eight or thirty, of fine appearance and elegant manners. He appeared to be extremely desirous of cultivating our acquaintance: his conversation was interesting and intelligent. He had been in the army from his youth; he is a native of Arequipa in Peru, and has several brothers at this time in the Spanish service---such is the nature of civil war. He is married to a niece of General Belgrano, a very superior woman, both in point of personal beauty and accomplishments; he possesses an elevation and manliness of character that would do honour to any country. Rondeau is a

small man, but of a firm and manly carriage, apparently about fifty years of age. He was one of the prisoners taken by the British on their first invasion of this country, and carried to England, whence he found his way to Spain, and served some time in the war of the Peninsula, but returned to Buenos Ayres, like other Americans, when his country required his services. He has taken a distinguished part in the revolution, was several times entrusted with the siege of Monte Video, and had brought it nearly to a close, when superseded by Alvear. He gained two victories over the Spaniards in Peru, but lost the battle of Sipe-sipe in November, 1815, though not through deficiency of skill and prudence, which was admitted by his opponent, the Spanish general, Pezuela. He was, however, recalled from the command, and his popularity was for a time obscured. He has an amiable family, but like most of the distinguished officers in this service, his circumstances are rather narrow. Another officer of distinction is General Soler, a remarkably fine figure, six feet two or three inches in height, and of a very soldierly appearance. In private life, however, he is said to be dissipated, and some anecdotes are related of him which give a somewhat unfavourable cast to the state of manners. His wife is a very beautiful but high-spirited woman. Soler commanded the vanguard which crossed the Andes, and for his conduct at the battle of Chacabuco, was presented with a sword on the field by San Martin. This gave rise to a series of publications; his enemies not conceiving him entitled to the reward: those who are inclined to take the middle course, say, that it was an act of generosity on the part of San Martin; that the act for which he rewarded Soler, was in reality performed by himself, but that Soler had rendered

important services as a disciplinarian, and in crossing the mountains. Thus it will be perceived, that the same jealousy of their military fame prevails in this country as in others. A collection of the different publications of this description that have issued from the press of Buenos Ayres, will furnish some valuable materials for history. We were sometimes visited by Sarratea, who has once been a conspicuous member of the government, and afterwards an agent of the court of London. He is a man of considerable talents and general information; but from all I could learn, does not stand high in the government, and still lower with the people.

We frequently saw a venerable old man, Funes, dean of Cordova, and the author of the Civil History of Buenos Ayres. Few have taken a more active part in the political events of the country. He received the rudiments of his education from the Jesuits, and afterwards completed it in Spain. He is an excellent belles lettres scholar, and his writings bear evidence of his extensive reading and classic taste. In the year 1810, at a council convened by Liniers and Concha, he was the only one who voted in favour of acknowledging the junta of Buenos Ayres; when the troops of that place marched against Cordova, he and his brother interceded for the life of Liniers, and the bishop Orillana; but as respects the first, without success. He was afterwards a member of the junta of observation, and took an active part in the politics of the day. In the revolutionary convulsions which ensued, he experienced his share of mortifications. He does not seem to have foreseen the troubled and distracted state necessarily produced by such events, and, in consequence, to be somewhat under the influence of chagrin and disappointment. His interests and feelings

attaching him to Cordova, his native place, he is inclined towards what is called here the federative system, which is essentially different from ours; but he also thinks that until their independence can be accomplished, it is absolutely necessary to waive all pretensions of this kind, for the sake of a concentration of their strength. I cultivated his acquaintance with assiduity, and through him became acquainted with a number of others who frequented his house. The native priests, in general, though enthusiastic in the cause, and fond of indulging in eloquent declamations, are rather timid politicians. They want nerve for action, and they have a kind of time-serving suppleness, acquired by the early habits of slavish and monastic education. In the profession of the law there is much more boldness, arising from their daily intercourse with the world, and ordinary transactions of life. Funes is thought to be rather unfriendly to the present administration, but his having withdrawn from political scenes is rather to be attributed to alarm at finding himself on a rougher sea than he had been accustomed to navigate.*

A visit was received from the bishop of Salta, a man of very advanced years, upwards of eighty, and who was thought not to be much attached to the cause of the revolution; indeed it has been hinted that his residence here is very little else than a kind of respectful *surveillance*. He said little on the subject of politics, but dropped something about the want of stability in the government, the turbulent and restless spirit that prevailed, *and then shook his head.* It would certainly have been a phenomenon to have found a re-

* He is at this time President of Congress.

volutionary patriot at his years, with his previous education and habits.

Mr. Rodney and myself paid a visit to a respectable old man, who fills the office which we should call post-master-general; he appeared to be about the same age with the bishop, but we found him a much more agreeable character, his conversation remarkably sprightly and entertaining. He told us that he had organized the establishment, and had occupied the same arm-chair in which he then sat at his desk, upwards of fifty years. Although a native of Spain, he was attached to the patriot cause, having children and grand-children who were all natives of the country. We inquired of him the news from Chili, and he informed us that from the last accounts, General Osorio was advancing into the province of Conception, at the head of five or six thousand men. We learned, that besides the regular post establishment which brought the mail once a week from the different provinces, there were expresses continually employed between this place and Chili, as also the provinces of Peru, so as to bring intelligence from the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, with a speed almost incredible.* He told us that his establishment was so arranged, as to enable him, in the course of ten days, to collect horses enough for the different posts to enable the government to send reinforcements of a thousand, or two thousand men, to these different points, with a rapidity unknown in any other country. He said, that since the commencement

* The journey from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres, upwards of nine hundred miles, was performed by the express, Escalera, in five days, and from Potosi to Buenos Ayres, 550 leagues, by Dobo, in twelve days.

of the war, he had contributed his assistance, in sending three armies to Peru; one of four, another of five, and a third of seven thousand men, and in speaking of the perseverance of these people in the midst of all their defeats and reverses, he exclaimed, "*Que pecho, que pecho, tiene esta gente!*" "What fortitude do these people possess!"

We were also visited by Iregoyen, the secretary at war, a young man of thirty-five years of age; he had been a cadet in the Spanish naval service, and had travelled a good deal in Europe. He is rather a shewy man, and from what I could learn, extremely ambitious. We were also visited by members of congress, Zavaletta, Pacheco, Villegas, and a number of others. Among the priests who called on us, was Dr. Belgrano, brother of the general, and who appeared to be a man of solid and respectable talents. The term doctor, is given indiscriminately to lawyers and clergymen, but not to physicians; in fact, the science of medicine is extremely low in all the Spanish colonies, and it is very unusual to meet with a Spanish physician of science and learning.

Among our acquaintances, there were two or three with whom I was particularly pleased; the first, a respectable old man, and a near neighbour, of the name of Escalada, the father-in-law of San Martin; this old man was what we should have called in our revolutionary war, *a true Whig*. He has a large and fine family of children, and grand children; his house, the place of most agreeable resort for all strangers, of any in the city. I frequently spent my evenings here, being almost always sure to find an agreeable party of ladies and gentlemen; the evening was usually passed in sprightly conversation, or in dances, which the old gentleman seemed to take a peculiar pleasure

in promoting, very frequently taking part himself, though upwards of seventy years of age: these dances were minuets, to the music of the piano, touched by one of the young ladies. He had adopted a beautiful and interesting girl, then about seventeen, the daughter of a Spanish governor intendant, and seemed to treat her with the same affection and kindness that he did his own children. The wife of General San Martin, was, at this time, living with her father, but appeared to be much dejected in spirits on account of her anxiety for her husband, to whom, from all accounts, she is devotedly attached. She had accompanied him to the foot of the Andes, wished to follow his fortunes across, and was, with much difficulty, dissuaded. Perceiving that she partook in none of the amusements, on inquiring the cause, I was told that she had made a vow of some kind for the success of her husband, which I could not well understand. These private and unobtrusive virtues in the family of San Martin, gave me a very favourable opinion of the man; the excellence and purity of private life, is, after all, the best foundation of public confidence. There can be no dignity of character without them, and we are seldom mistaken in the purity of the actions of men, when this fountain is pure. While in Buenos Ayres, I have frequently heard San Martin and his wife cited as an example of a happy marriage; which is by no means negative praise, in a country where morals are unfortunately depraved, and where the marriage state is held in too little respect. They have but one child, a daughter, three or four years of age. Escalada is a plain citizen, and has never taken any other part than that of a private individual, but he has been enabled, from the possession of considerable wealth, to render ser-

vice to the cause; he presented each of us with copies of different political works, which he had purchased, for the purpose of distributing gratis; among them, was a history of the United States, with our declaration of independence, General Washington's Farewell Address, and other pieces. Besides his son-in-law, his wife's brother, Quintana,* is in the army of Chili, and his two sons, one eighteen, the other twenty years of age, both gallant youths, are serving under the eye of San Martin. We experienced on all occasions, from this old gentleman, the utmost kindness and attention, and were invited by him to a splendid entertainment, at a moment when his whole family appeared to be depressed by the most anxious feeling for the fate of their near relations, exposed to the hazards of a dreadful war.

Mr. Frias, a young lawyer of respectability, and secretary to the cabildo, was one of our most agreeable acquaintances; his manners were highly polished and refined, and he possesses a generosity of heart, a warmth and earnestness of feeling, which shewed, that although born under a despotic government, his character was formed in a republic. He seemed to be peculiarly anxious to cultivate our acquaintance, and to acquire a knowledge of the details of our political institutions. I derived considerable information from him, as well as assistance in procuring papers and documents. He has been married some years to an amiable woman. The ladies are much less

* This officer was one of those who distinguished themselves in the defence against the British. See Funes, Vol. III. p. 427. It is worthy of notice, that many of those who are now most conspicuous, were distinguished at that period; Dias Velis, Viamonte, and Montes de Oca, then but a youth.

addicted to literature than in the United States, in general, but much more so than those of New Orleans. The Spanish literature is, in fact, richer in works which combine moral instruction with amusement, than the French; I observed the sister of Mr. Frias, reading a translation of Pamela, and I learned that the novels of Richardson are much esteemed among them.

Mr. Riglos is another of those, whose acquaintance we found particularly agreeable. He is of a highly respectable family, and educated in England; he is also a specimen of the young South Americans, whose mind has been formed under the new order of things. He has nothing of the Spanish reserve and distrust in his deportment; his manners, like those of his countrymen, are highly polished, but without that fastidious attention to etiquette, which is so troublesome to a stranger. This gentleman spoke the English remarkably well. The house of Madam Riglos, his mother, who is a widow, is considered one of the most genteel in the city; I have seen few ladies of more polished manners, and I had frequent opportunities of meeting here, the most fashionable people.

Soon after our arrival, we became acquainted with a number of strangers, and some Americans settled here. We were frequently visited by the British officer, at present commanding on that station, a man of free and obliging manners and address, but somewhat inclined to be caustic and severe in his remarks, so that considerable allowance was necessary to be made for this propensity, for at times, he gave a much more favourable account of things, than at others. Mr. Staples, the British consul, or agent, though a much plainer man, appeared to be more solid and judicious, as well as consistent in his observations, and having

been here several years, he was qualified to speak with more confidence. He spoke highly of the natural good qualities of the people in general, but especially of the agricultural population in the neighbourhood of the city, and in the villages; he thought them all highly susceptible of improvement, and stated many changes in their habits and character, for the better. He said, that the British officers bore testimony to their mildness and hospitality, when prisoners among them. The letters which passed between them and the different cabildos, were published at the time by the officers, in order to manifest their gratitude. A number of the soldiers settled in the country, and others, were with difficulty persuaded to return. Some of the officers declared, that, but for their sense of honour, they never would leave the country. The natives, in general, were delighted to see strangers; the very reverse of which was the case with the European Spaniards, who regarded all foreigners with a kind of growling jealousy, as if they had any better right to be here themselves.* Nothing more strongly evinced their mildness of character, than the rare occurrence of violence and bloodshed, in the course of the sudden changes and revolutions of their government. In being released from the shackles of their old system, and without any settled re-organization, it was naturally to be expected, that during the sway of the passions, scenes, such as occurred in France, would take place. The general equality which prevailed, seemed to bring men closer together, and to produce a stronger sympathy in each other's sufferings and misfortunes. The

* Since the revolution, they are themselves regarded as strangers, and the least favoured of any.

triumph of one party over another, even after the most violent struggles, was at most followed by the banishment of a few individuals; that in a few instances, where the proscribed were put to death, they produced the most lively sensations on the whole community, and its displeasure was strongly expressed; that the vices of the people, were the vices of education only; that, previous to the revolution, they were brought up in idleness, at least, seldom induced to embrace useful and industrious callings. The sons of Europeans were never employed in the business of their fathers, who preferred taking any kind of a lad, that happened to be born in Spain; there was a want of an interest on the part of the Spaniards, in the future welfare and advantage of their own offspring.* They left them to follow the billiard tables and gaming houses, in preference to initiating them into employments, which they appeared to think, exclusively appertained to those born in Europe. The revolution was producing a sensible change throughout all society.

From these gentlemen, and several English merchants settled here, we received every mark of attention. Although few of them, beside the consul, said much in favour of the people, they appeared all to entertain a sincere wish for their success, which was not

* Azara declares, that such was the antipathy between the Europeans and Americans, that it was felt even in the relations of father and son, and an instance was related of a son, who impudently told his father that he renounced the relationship; that the Pampas Indians were his parents! But such instances must have been rare. I saw, in one instance, the daughter of a European Spaniard, very warmly resent some general expressions, unfavourable to the Europeans, although her father was on the side of the revolution.

at all surprising, considering the deep interest they have at stake. Most of them express doubts of their capacity to establish a solid government, from their want of information, and from their vicious habits; they held out the idea, that if they were placed under the guardianship of some other nation, for twenty or thirty years, so as to keep down their local dissentions, and prevent the recurrence of their internal revolutions, there would be no doubt of their ultimate success. At present, there was a want of stability, from their having no settled institutions, or possessing men among them of such weight and influence, as to be able to repress factions. It was owing to this cause, that the state had been so frequently split up with feuds and parties. The drift of all this was not difficult to be discovered; I have seen the same idea of guardianship suggested in the Quarterly Review; it means, *the guardianship of England.* But the discovery of such a disposition on her part would only serve to excite unfriendly feelings towards her; they discover important advantages in mutual intercourse, and are very desirous of cultivating a good understanding with Great Britain, but would be indignant at the idea of any design to exercise a control over them.

Our acquaintance with Mr. Bonpland, the companion of Humboldt, was highly gratifying, especially to Dr. Baldwin. Mr. Bonpland removed to this place with his family about a year ago, and is settled on a quinta, about two miles from town. Such a man is a great acquisition to the country, in making known its resources and advantages. Several French officers were also introduced to us; they had come here to seek their fortunes, but from their conversations, I discovered they had been somewhat disappointed in their

expectations, which were not very moderate or rational. One of them had made up his mind to return to France; "this will be a fine country," said he, "*quand nous serons bien sous terre*, when we shall be well under ground." They complain of there being a good deal of jealousy on the part of the native officers, at seeing foreigners among them, at which I was not at all surprised. The Irish officers are better received than any others; but in general those who enter the service must calculate on meeting with many mortifications; the government is sufficiently disposed to be liberal, but they are not so well received in the army. It is highly probable that some cause for this has been given, by their indiscretion in betraying their feelings of superiority, whether real or false, and by their setting up pretensions they have not been able to realize. They do not reflect, that during this protracted war, many valuable officers have been found among the natives, and that the people of these countries have a greater inclination to the profession of arms, than for any other pursuit.

I found with some regret, that the most unfavourable representations as to the state of things in this country, were made by some of our own countrymen; my observation is, however, by no means general. From these I had expected something different; I had expected to find them,

> "To their virtues very kind,
> To their faults a little blind;"

but whether owing to the habit of indulging in party spirit at home, or the circumstance of being accidentally connected with some of the factions, which are always virulent in proportion to the smallness of their numbers, and to their weakness; certain it is, that

some of them were very desirous of producing unfavourable impressions on our minds. On the superficial, on those already disposed to be biassed, and on the warm hearted and generous, whose opportunities did not enable them to judge for themselves, these persons were sure to fasten, and too generally succeeded in implanting prejudices. These persons immediately surrounded us, and were extremely anxious to be closeted, in order to disclose damning secrets against the men now in power, as if it were the business of the mission to sit in judgment on the political conduct and motives of those who had the management of the government, like the *visitadores* under the Spanish system. As the secretary of the mission, I was particularly exposed to this kind of importunity, from a supposition that I would be a convenient channel; and through curiosity, I sometimes attended to what they had to say; but I was well aware, *that errors come, generally, unbidden, while truth must be sought for with diligence.* I found it necessary to institute an inquiry into the characters and situations of these individuals, in order to ascertain the degree of credit which they deserved. To extract information that might be depended upon, from this dross, required every variety of test; I found few among them possessing enlarged and liberal views, independently of their being linked in with some petty interest. Some who were connected with, or were friendly to the privateering business, seemed to be very bitter against the administration, and had lately made a discovery that Artigas was the true patriot and friend of his country.* I had no great difficulty in discovering,

* It is not more than a year or eighteen months ago since we knew any thing about Artigas in this country.

that this arose from their impatience for a war with Portugal, whose commerce could be preyed upon to much more advantage than that of Spain, now almost driven from the sea. The independence of South America, with these foreigners, chiefly American and English, was only a secondary object; no one can doubt that, with them, the primary motive for entering the service was to advance their fortunes. It was now whispered about, that as the government of Buenos Ayres could not be urged into a war with Portugal, the privateers would enlist under the banners of Artigas; that is, they would send over commissions to the Banda Oriental, to be signed by him in blank. This design, however, was studiously concealed, as otherwise it might be prevented by the government, and, at all events, be disapproved of by the public. The inveterate enemies of the administration among the native citizens, would naturally coalesce with those who agreed with them in this particular, however they might otherwise dislike each other. From our experience in politics and parties, we know that in such things there is nothing wonderful. About the time of our arrival, it was also hinted, that a revolution, as they called it, was about to take place, having for its principal object, to make war against Portugal. But in conversing with the sober and rational part of the community, I could learn, that, however they disliked the Portuguese, and their taking possession of the Banda Oriental, they considered it evidently their policy to avoid war as long as possible. They distinguished between a contest with Spain for independence, *and the war between Artigas and a nation, who had no pretensions to the sovereignty over South America generally.* It was a private and local

war between Artigas and the Portuguese, which was not necessarily connected with the general cause. It was brought on by Artigas, in consequence of his revolt, and unless he chose to enter into the confederacy, he had no right to expect any assistance from the other provinces, more especially as he had invaded one of them, and was continually embarrassing the intercourse between the others.* It was asked, what object could be gained, even if by the assistance of the confederated provinces, the Portuguese could be expelled? As long as Artigas declined entering into the union, of what importance was it that this territory should be in his possession, or in the possession of Portugal, or of any other nation that would remain at peace? The case was different *when in the possession of the Spaniards,* they could annoy the commerce of the United Provinces, by holding the key of this river; but after having expelled *them,* they were succeeded by an enemy scarcely less troublesome, in the very man who was now urging a war with the Portuguese. Independently of these considerations, it was imprudent in the United Provinces to try the doubtful chances of a war with a new enemy. A war with the Portuguese would be a powerful diversion in favour of Spain, as it would compel the patriots to withdraw their troops from other quarters, at the same time that it would greatly increase the expenses of the war, and expose their commerce to be seriously injured by the superior naval force of Portugal. At all

* The roving bands, or montoneros, sent over by Artigas, do not merely distress Buenos Ayres, but all the other provinces, by cutting off their connexion with their emporium, and thus jeopardising the cause of general emancipation, to gratify his private pique.

events, Buenos Ayres had enough to contend with already, and it would be folly to think of a new war, without an adequate object.

I became acquainted with several persons who are engaged in a small trade with Artigas, from this place, and who are in the habit of visiting him frequently. They seemed to be worthy respectable men, but rather of narrow views; they took great pains to impress every one of the mission with a favourable opinion of Artigas; but after the most careful and strict examination to come at the *reality* of what they urged in his behalf, they only increased the unfavourable opinion I had begun to entertain. They said that he was a plain old man, with no show or parade, that he has no riches, and indulges himself is none of the luxuries or ornaments with which men are generally pleased; that he is the true friend of independence, and the genuine lover of liberty; that the Spaniards offered him a brigadier's commission, which he refused. They also said much of his good intentions, and keen, discriminating mind. It was observed by one, that he was a great lover of justice, that when a culprit was brought before him, there was no chicanery of the lawyers, no artful subterfuges, his sentence was passed at once. They admitted, as to his poverty, and mode of life, that he had never known much else; I could not, therefore, see any great merit in this. As to his refusing a bribe, I thought it rather an equivocal evidence of integrity, because the circumstance of its being offered, shews the estimation in which his integrity was held by the person making the offer. I considered it a much higher compliment to the other generals, that no attempt had been made to bribe them. They admitted that he was absolute, that he had established no civil government, and had

no form or constitution whatever; but they declared that this was owing to his present situation. When I asked them if they thought him a proper person to be at the head of the confederacy, as the chief magistrate, they at once admitted that this would not do, that he did not aspire to it, being conscious of his own deficiency in education, and in the necessary talents to manage the affairs of a regular government. I asked them if it was his intention to be entirely independent of the United Provinces? They said not, but that if there were men at the head of the government who pleased him, he would join it. I inquired whether they could tell me his ultimate aim, if he neither aspired to be at the head of the confederacy himself, nor was determined to be entirely independent; for the idea of his waiting until some persons to his liking should assume the reins appeared to me unsatisfactory; since, in all the different changes, not one could be found to please him. It was evident, that his enmity was not to *any particular men*, from his unwillingness to take part in the congress of Tucuman, formed from all the other provinces excepting Paraguay, and those in the actual possession of the Spaniards; they replied that is intentions were good, that he was a truly honest patriot, and a great lover of his country.

We can only infer the intentions of men from their acts; let us for a moment examine what has been the conduct of Artigas. To form a just estimate of his pretensions, it will be necessary to cast a retrospective glance at the early events of the revolution, and also to consider the relative importance of the population he is supposed to represent. When Buenos Ayres, in 1810, established a junta independent of the temporary governments of Spain, she stood perfectly alone in the viceroyalty, although its metropolis, Banda Oriental,

reposed under the royal government. A revolutionary movement had been attempted in the city of La Paz, but had been put down; the Spaniards were, therefore, also triumphant in Peru. Buenos Ayres was thus hemmed in by enemies, who were in possession of the upper branches of the river, and who had command of the waters of La Plata, so as to bar her communication with the sea; her first step was to prevail upon those provinces, which at present compose the union, to assist in expelling the Spanish authorities from the whole extent of the viceroyalty. The enterprise, activity, and intrepidity of Buenos Ayres, took the lead in organizing and marching armies, for the purpose of effecting this object. Paraguay, of her own accord, expelled the Spanish authorities, and has remained ever since unmolested by any external enemy. Buenos Ayres was, at the same time, obliged to contend with the Spanish armies in Peru, and to prosecute the siege of Monte Video. She twice obtained possession of the provinces of Peru, but was as often compelled to submit to the fate of war. The capture of Monte Video has already been related. Without the assistance of Buenos Ayres, the inhabitants of the Banda Oriental, would never have been able to have expelled the Spaniards, if they would even have attempted it. What then was the least to have been expected from the gra-

* Banda Oriental was but a district or county of the intendency of Buenos Ayres; the conduct of the European Spaniards, in refusing to acknowledge the government of the capital of the intendency, was regarded as a kind of treason, and thus denounced. Artigas would, no doubt, consider it treason, if any of the smaller districts under him should renounce his authority, by following his own principles of anarchy. By reading the observations in the Introduction, the question will be more clearly understood.

titude, generosity or justice, of this district? Certainly, to have joined the confederacy—upon its own terms? No; upon the same terms with the other provinces. It is true, a jealousy did prevail, of the ascendancy which Buenos Ayres had acquired; an ascendancy absolutely necessary to have existed somewhere. But its abuses, which could at worst have been only temporary, were remedied by the general congress, to which all the provinces (with the exception of those under the immediate controul of the Spaniards, of Paraguay, which had achieved its own independence, and Banda Oriental, which had revolted under Artigas,) sent their deputies to Tucuman to deliberate on the common welfare. Passing then, the provinces of Peru, which are forcibly kept down, that of Paraguay, which is under no direct obligations to the confederacy, *and the dispute lies between* BANDA ORIENTAL *and the* UNITED PROVINCES. Let us, for a moment, consider their comparative weight in the political scale. The United Provinces contain little short of five hundred thousand souls, entirely free from the molestation of a foreign enemy.* They possess an extensive commerce with all the world; they are increasing in population, and are cultivating all the arts of peace. On the other side, the country of which Artigas calls himself the chief, together with those under his protection, contains, at the outside, fifty thousand souls, the greater part of whom are far from being the most valuable citizens; an enemy is in the possession of the most important points, having controul over the settled inhabitants, many of whom are dissatisfied with Artigas; a country without commerce, and without government; without attention to the education of

* This includes civilized Indians. See the report of Mr. Graham.

youth, and declining rapidly from the state of civilization. Is it not unjust, that such a country as this, or its leaders, should attempt to thwart the plans of the confederacy, or should be arrogant enough to denounce the general government as treacherous? The territory, it is true, is valuable to the confederacy, and its position important.

Is there any personal dignity in the character or abilities of Artigas, that would justify him in dictating to the rest of the provinces? For my part, I can see nothing in his conduct, that deserves the name of a friend of liberty and independence. He has not even declared independence from Spain, nor has he ever satisfactorily announced his intentions to his own countrymen. It is an easy thing to dress up a character with a few sounding phrases, calculated to deceive those, who do not take the trouble to inquire whether they are accompanied by the substance. Is it rational to suppose, that in a quarrel between such a man as Artigas, or the people whom he sways, with all the provinces of the union, that he should not be in the wrong? I have given the subject a most impartial examination, and it is utterly impossible for me to come to any other conclusion. There is undoubtedly a merit in his being able to maintain the war as he does; and the common mind is apt to take sides with those who seem to have the most difficult part to act, even when it cannot but condemn the cause in which they are engaged. Artigas is admired as an intrepid and daring leader, determined and persevering, though in a bad cause, and in reality of small importance in the cause of South American independence.

The advocates and friends of Artigas, of whom I have been speaking, were also in favour of Carrera, but evidently for the same reason; *the enmity of Carrera*

and his friends to the existing government. There were some among the latter who appeared to be extremely virulent, but their numbers small; they were chiefly persons immediately connected in the fortunes of Carrera, and whose minds had been soured by disappointment. They took great pains to detract from the military capacity of San Martin, and bestowed abundance of epithets and harsh names; but I heard nothing like a direct charge of dishonourable conduct, either in public or private life; in fact, what I heard from these, his enemies, tended greatly to increase my respect for his character. Their story was, that the people were continually calling out for Carrera; that they wished to be commanded by their own officers. But where were these officers, when the Spaniards held possession of the country? Why did they not call on them at that time? If this be true, all that can be said is, that they manifest their gratitude in a most extraordinary manner. The two factions in Chili are well known; prudence would require that these factions should be kept down. The possession of the country by the Spaniards was entirely incompatible with the safety of the United Provinces. A single glance at the map will suffice to satisfy any one on this head. They were, therefore, justifiable not only in expelling the Spaniards, but in placing things on such a footing as to prevent the recurrence of the former mischief. The same course would have been pursued by us, had we made ourselves masters of Canada, during the late or revolutionary war, and the same principle would have justified us in taking possession of East Florida. No impartial man can doubt, that San Martin would have been justifiable in excluding the leaders of both factions from power, and accepting the authority which was tendered him. I

could urge no stronger reason, than the fact stated in the report of Mr. Poinsett: "Unfortunately, this country has been divided into two violent and irreconcilable factions, by two powerful families. The Carreras and Larrians, both equally anxious to liberate their country, and both using every means in their power to obtain the command." The fact is not denied, that it was in consequence of this rivalry, that Chili fell a prey to the royalists. What was then left to San Martin, after having expelled the common enemy? Was it not his duty to prevent the renewal of these contentions for power, which in all probability would have exposed Chili to a second conquest? By what means was he to do this? Either by expelling the leaders of both factions, in which case he would excite the dissatisfaction of both, or by selecting one of the two. It seems he preferred the latter; whether because he considered O'Higgins the best patriot, or that he had the strongest party, I am unable to say. My own opinion is, that he found O'Higgins less disposed to be carried away by those local and narrow interests, which have constantly marred the great cause of emancipation; and, on the contrary, willing to join with the United Provinces, in order to render it secure.

What is, in fact, the present situation of Chili, since the royal authorities have been expelled? Instead of being overpowered and oppressed by a ruthless despotism, her ports have been thrown open to all the world; she ostensibly, to say the least, has a government of her own, although time has not yet been allowed to form a regular and permanent constitution; a work which ought not to be done with too much haste. Whether there be any secret influence

exercised by the United Provinces, by the British, or by any other nation. I regard it of little moment in comparison to the *direct dominion of Spain*. It is certain that she carries her flag, has a fleet and army, is freely permitted the use of arms, coins, money; may enter into treaties, or pacts, with foreign powers, and is publicly acknowledged by the United Provinces, as an independent *nation*. This is surely better than being a remote, oppressed colony of Spain; when thus restored to the enjoyment of these essential rights, any subjection imposed by the United Provinces must be of a very short duration. Possessing twice the physical strength, with the mountains as a barrier, it is utterly impossible that a state of subjection would long exist. It is much more probable that Chili, with the advantages she now enjoys, with a population more homogeneous and compact, with funds and means much less precarious, would be able to dictate to the other republics. Even now, according to some, she is thought to be more powerful than the United Provinces; her naval force is, unquestionably, superior, and even the honour of the late victory of Maipu has been awarded to her by some writers. Humanly speaking, merely, for I pretend to no supernatural insight into the secrets, sinister policy, wayward faults, and mismanagements of the leading men in those countries, I regard it as a happy circumstance that Chili and the United Provinces have combined their strength in the common cause, by which it has been rendered sure, at least, if not "doubly sure."

It was frequently suggested by the friends of Carrera, that the Carrera party was friendly to the United States, while that of O'Higgins is inclined to the British. I regarded this merely as a bait, for the purpose

of catching our national feelings, or, at least, for the purpose of enlisting the republican party of the United States. It cannot be supposed that on account of their excessive love to us, the Carreras would neglect any thing that might conduce to the interest of their own country. It is very plainly the interest of both parties to cultivate a good understanding with the British, and to derive from them all the assistance they can; it would be folly in either to reject it. If the people of Chili, in general, are friendly to us, and I firmly believe they are so, of what importance is the private opinion of a few individuals? We should desire the friendship and affection of the people of Chili and not of San Martin or O'Higgins; unless, indeed, these were princes and the people nothing. I am at a loss to conceive what motive could actuate any government set up in those countries, in rejecting our proffered good will and friendship, or any thing else that our situations would permit us to offer.

But these are selfish ideas, narrow and contemptible. If there be persons in this country, as has been asserted in our public papers, and not contradicted, *who might expect personal favours and advantages from the Carrera party*, that is a different matter; but I can tell those gentlemen, that if they think to enlist our national feelings in order to subserve their private purposes, they are greatly mistaken. What effect might be produced on the people of Chili, by holding out the idea that our attachment to the Carrera party is so great, that the only obstacle in the way of our acknowledgment of their independence, is their exclusion from the government, I know not; but I can assure them, that our declining to acknowledge their government, for the present, does not arise from antipathy to O'Higgins, and partiality for Carrera, any more than a refusal of

the same as aspects the United Provinces, arises from dislike to its supreme director and congress, and friendship for Artigas. These, I hope, are but trifling considerations in the great and important questions; let these men, and their partisans, dispute as they please about their respective claims to merit.

The principal cause of those contradictory accounts, that we so frequently see in our newspapers, is the ready ear which strangers give to the tales of these disaffected persons; they do not stop to investigate, nor, indeed, have they the time or capacity.* They do not reflect that those who are unable to gratify a deep revenge, yet derive satisfaction in causing their enemies to be hated, and in representing them in the most odious colours. They lose no opportunity, and leave nothing undone, to infuse into the breasts of others the same inveterate hatred they feel themselves. Passing strangers are immediately accosted by these people; supercargoes, commercial agents, and others, have their minds poisoned by their tales of grievances and oppressions; they adopt and give these circulation without stopping a moment to inquire, how far they are reconcileable with probability. The common accounts, therefore, of the character and views of the South Americans, ought to be received, from such sources, with great distrust. The extracts of letters published in our newspapers, are generally

* The following extract from Niles's Register needs no comments: "The same letter informs us, that every thing is under the direction of the priests, and executed at the point of the bayonet, that the congress," &c. But a brief letter to the editor of the register from Mr. Rodney, observes, "I have been agreeably surprised with the appearance of things in this country." Vol. xiv. p. 327.

derived from persons of this description; they take their impressions from some discontented individual, who, probably, if seriously called upon, would have sufficient regard to his character not to give them his confirmation.

A few days after our arrival, I was a good deal amused with a young American, with whom I had some slight acquaintance. He came to me, and in a kind of half whisper, as if afraid of being overheard, and a mysterious face, related to me all those horrors which I have already noticed, and many more. I asked him whether he had been long here? Whether he had been much among the different classes of the people; whether he spoke the language; and whether he had ever been out of the United States before? He answered, all these questions in the negative; but said he had obtained his information from several gentlemen, who had voluntarily tendered their services to give him correct statements. I asked him if he were intimately acquainted with them; how long he had known them; what were their characters; whether they were free from bias or prejudice, or linked with one of the smaller factions of the country? He did not know, and had never reflected upon these matters; but they seemed clever people; he saw no motive for their deceiving him; and he thought he could trust to his own judgment as to the probability or improbability of what they told him. I asked him what he should think of a Frenchman, or Englishman, or Spaniard, who should come to our country with the intention of remaining a few months, in order to study the genius of the people and government; and instead of making himself acquainted with the different classes of people, be content with the opinions of a few of his own countrymen, accidentally met

with in the streets? There are, no doubt, occasional prodigies, who, without ever having been out of their own country, or having travelled much even in that, unacquainted with any language but their mother tongue, by force of wonderful native sagacity, have been enabled, at a glance, to penetrate all the recesses of society. The ordinary mode, however, of acquiring information, is much more slow and tedious. It is like one finding his way through the woods; he must take many a wrong path, before his good stars will direct his steps into the right one. There is, however, an easier way of avoiding such difficulties; and that is, by having his opinion formed before coming to the country, which can easily be done by becoming a partisan of one of the factions, and receiving its political creed, with becoming faith and submission. The young man, some time afterwards, told me he thought he had formed his opinions rather too hastily.

In a familar conversation with one of their most intelligent men, but entirely friendly to the present administration, I ventured to ask him what was the nature of the complaints of the provinces against the capital, and whether it was really true that there had been an abuse of power towards them. He admitted that there had been causes of complaint, both on account of the acts of the government, and of its agents; but, said he, was it to be expected that every cause of dissatisfaction could be prevented? There are local demagogues enough to aggravate and magnify these complaints, and thus exasperate a people not accustomed, heretofore, to think for themselves on public affairs; and, therefore, easily led astray. Here, said he, is one of the great difficulties we have had to struggle with in our contest for independence. Each province, or government, as well as each petty dis-

trict of such province, although zealous in the common cause, wishes to pursue its own course. It, therefore, becomes necessary for the capital to exert itself continually to bring them to unite their efforts. To this salutary end, compulsion and coercion are, sometimes, unavoidable; but they can never give pleasure to those who feel them. Here is the true reason for the dislike to Buenos Ayres; and yet, such is the inconsistency of the human passions, should the contest terminate happily, she will be regarded as the common benefactress. We were not inattentive spectators, said he, of your late contest with Great Britain, and we observed that your confederative system opposed great obstacles to your carrying on the war with efficiency; several of your states almost refused to join, and your general government appeared to want power to coerce a union of your strength and resources. From this, you can readily conceive the difficulty of coercing a people who have formed the most extravagant ideas of independence, and who, enjoying a momentary security from Spain through the very means taken by Buenos Ayres, are, notwithstanding, desirous of placing themselves beyond her control. And what, sir, would be the result should every province and petty district follow the example of Artigas? Buenos Ayres would not be able to raise those armies which have kept the Spanish power in check in the upper provinces, and which, like the stone of Sysiphus, threatens to roll down and crush those below. Salta, Tucuman, Cordova, Mendoza, and the rest, each acting in its own way, would separately fall an easy conquest to the army of Lima; which now requires the combined forces of all to resist. The capital would be reduced to very narrow

limits, its resources would be cut off, its commerce with the interior destroyed; and, although we should make a brave resistance, we would probably be subdued at last, and this flourishing city, like Monte Video, Caraccas, Cumana, and Barcelona, would exhibit only a heap of ruins, instead of being what it is now, *the most formidable enemy to the Spanish power in America.* The re-conquest of Chili, which has filled the Spaniards with despair, would not have taken place; Paraguay, which hugs herself in her inglorious security, purchased by the blood and treasure of Buenos Ayres, could not resist the Spanish army descending from Peru, or ascending the Parana; and as to Artigas, although he might for a time enjoy his wild independence, in consequence of having no fixed habitation, yet this would not be the case with the inhabitants of towns, and those engaged in the pursuit of agriculture, should Spain resolve to adopt the plan of extermination which has been followed by Morillo. The war in Peru could not be continued a single moment without the aid of Buenos Ayres; for what ultimate object could be gained by mere bands of guerillas, unsupported by a regular army? Buenos Ayres has introduced a regular system, the want of which has given such advantages to the Spaniards in other parts of America, and she has been the nursery of officers, regularly instructed in the newest and best principles of the military art. This is no time to be over scrupulous about form, when we are endeavouring to save the state from threatened destruction.

Whatever weight there may be in these remarks, it is certain, that very little good sense is evinced by those persons who form their opinions of what they see and hear in these countries, by applying the rules

and principles they have acquired under an order of things entirely different. It requires a mind rendered liberal by the contemplation of human nature, under its various modifications, to judge correctly of any foreign country; this is one of the reasons why the observations of strangers are regarded by the people of the countries described, as ridiculous and impertinent. A Hollander admires no country that is not flat and marshy, the Swiss must have mountains, and the Greenlander thinks there is no feast without whale-oil and blubber.

About ten days after our arrival, the independence of Chili was celebrated in the city. The illuminations, and other public demonstrations, were continued during three successive days, as is usual on all occasions of this kind. The flags of Chili, and the United Provinces, were suspended from the cabildo, and the independence of Chili publicly announced by *bando*, or proclamation, in the plaza. The pyramid of the revolution was elegantly ornamented with flags, and a variety of patriotic inscriptions. I observed great satisfaction expressed in the countenances of the people, especially those of the country, very different from the stupid gaze of amazement I had remarked at Rio. In the afternoon, the youth from some of the higher seminaries of learning, about seventy or eighty in number, marched to the pyramid in procession, headed by the professors, and after reading the inscriptions and making their observations, dispersed. Soon after, the boys from the different schools marched with flags, in different companies, to the number of at least six or eight hundred. They formed a hollow square, enclosing the pyramid, and raised the national song; each side of a square singing a stanza in succession, and the whole

joining in the chorus, at the same time waving their flags. When they had sung their hymn, some of those who excelled in speaking, stood forward and delivered patriotic orations. After this, a dialogue was kept up for some time, which consisted of questions put by one for the sake of the answers given by another, containing some simple propositions of political and civil liberty, or patriotic sentiments, together with professions of veneration for their religion. The combination of such expressions as "*los derechos del hombre*," and "*nuestra santa religion catolica*," had a strange effect to my ear, but I do not, for this, pretend to condemn it, although it differs from what I have been accustomed to, circumstances may render it necessary and proper here. I am disposed to believe, that the rising generation are far from being inclined to superstition and bigotry; the danger is, their neglecting religion, which is so essential to every well regulated state; it may be prudent, also, to associate in the minds of their youth, the cause of religion with that of their country, so that both may be esteemed by this means, more sacred. Few of these boys appeared to exceed twelve years of age; they were dressed, in general, like those of our cities, but a proportion, sufficient to be remarked, were a good deal bronzed, the greater part, however, had good complexions, and all had animated and expressive countenances. Amongst the crowd of people collected in order to be amused, or to catch the fire of patriotism from this exhibition, the figures which most attracted my notice, were several of the gauchos of the neighbouring pampas, who sat on their horses with much gravity and composure, apparently pleased with what was passing, but that pleasure very faintly expressed in their countenances. There is no doubt, that these exhi-

bitions must have a powerful effect on all classes of society, and, with the youth, they give rise to sentiments and feelings inseparable from their very existence. I afterwards found, that it is the custom for the boys to go through the same ceremony once a week. I have been informed, that much more of this enthusiasm, resembling that of the French revolution, prevailed some time ago, from which, it has been inferred, that the interest in the cause itself, is on the wane; in this, however, I do not agree, but rather believe that it is owing to its having settled down into something more deep and solid than the first effervescence of public spirit; there is evidently, less demonstration of enthusiasm in the cause of independence in our country, than during the period of the revolution, but no one can suppose that it rests upon a less solid foundation.

Printed copies of the declaration of independence of Chili were sent to each of the commissioners, together with medals, struck on the occasion, in gold and silver. I attended a theatre in the evening, where a *funcion*, or ceremony, was got up for the occasion. I shall defer the description of this amusement, until I shall make some further observations on the event just described. From this public and solemn expression, there was no room left to doubt, that the idea of holding Chili in subjection, had nothing in it of reality. This I could gather from a thousand minor circumstances, while on the spot, which produced a much stronger conviction in my mind of their sincerity, than any thing I am able to state. As the reconquest of Chili has been variously related, I will give the reader what I have been able to collect from the means and opportunities afforded me.

The first revolutionary movement in Chili, was at

Santiago, the capital, on the 18th of July, 1810, when the captain-general, Carrasco, was deposed, and the Count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him. On the 18th of September following, a meeting was held of the great land holders, in the city before mentioned, and it was determined to establish a provisional government, on the same principles with those set up in other parts of South America, to govern for the time being, in the name of the king.* Mr. Poinsett observes, that the creoles of Chili rejoiced at the success of Buenos Ayres, "they wished to follow what they considered a noble example, but were restrained by their natural timidity." But the impulse was given by the arrest of three of the principal inhabitants of Santiago, Ovalle, Roxas, and Vera; the two first were sent to Lima, the latter, a Buenos Ayrean, feigned himself sick, and according to Mr. Poinsett, "from the castle of Valparaiso, where he

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* It is stated in "The Outline," that "the junta of Buenos Ayres, conscious of the advantages which would result from the provinces of Chili joining the revolution, sent to Santiago, Don A. Jonte, a person well acquainted with the inhabitants of that capital, with instructions, to endeavour to hasten the deposition of the Spanish governors;" also, that when the revolution took place, Jonte remained there as charge d'affaires, and in that capacity, succeeded in persuading the junta of Chili, to send three hundred men to the assistance of Buenos Ayres, p. 149. The supplement, or gazette extraordinary of Buenos Ayres, of February 18th, 1811, contains a letter from the junta of Santiago, making a voluntary tender of assistance to Buenos Ayres, which was received with the strongest expressions of gratitude. The junta of Chili, at this time, was composed of the following persons: the Marquis de la Plata, Dr. Juan Martinez de Rosas, *Ignacio Carrera*, (father of the Carreras,) Francisco Xavier de Reyna, Juan Enrique Rosales, with two secretaries.

was confined, incited the Chilians to reclaim their countrymen, and to protest against this act of oppression, which he represented as the prelude to a general persecution of the creoles. He excited their fears to such a degree, that they gathered courage from despair, and addressed a strong remonstrance to the captain-general, which alarmed him, and induced him to recal those gentlemen he had accused of treasonable practices." This step was followed up by deposing the captain-general, as already stated, and the establishment of a provisional government; a measure which naturally led to others of a still bolder cast, until they were fairly launched on the tempestuous sea of liberty. When Mr. Poinsett speaks of the "natural timidity" of the Chilians, I presume he does not mean that they are any way deficient in constitutional courage or enterprise; his meaning is to be gathered from what he says of the composition of the society, the prevalence of the feudal system, without its warlike character; nearly the same reason why no revolutionary movements have taken place in Lower Lima.* "The condition of the people of Chili is different from that of any of the other Spanish colonies; the country is for the most part in the hands of large proprietors, who let out their lands to tenants, upon the condition of personal service, and of the

* "In Lima there has been no revolutionary movement. The landed estates are in the hands of large proprietors, and are cultivated by slaves; they are fearful that any attempt to change the form of government, would be attended by a loss of their property, and from the great number of blacks and mulattoes in this viceroyalty, the contest would probably terminate in the same manner as the revolution of St. Domingo."

payment of a moderate rent in produce; as the landlord may, at will, drive the tenant from his farm, or augment the rent according to the increased value. The farmers are deterred from improving their houses or land, and content themselves with raising what is necessary to pay the landlord, and to subsist their families; most of the large estates are grazing farms, and the personal services of the tenants consist, principally, in tending the cattle; they are expected at all times, however, to be ready to obey the orders of the landlord." It is not at all surprising, that the landholders, or aristocracy of Chili, should have been timid in beginning the revolution. All agree, however, that the population is good, and that the difficulty of elevating their condition is not great, and that much has been done towards it since the late expulsion of the Spaniards.*. In Buenos Ayres, nothing of this kind existed, the people were essentially democratic; and, consequently, less timid than the rich landholders of Chili, who had much at stake, and were, therefore, more exposed to the hazards of a change, whose consequences could not easily be calculated. The same cause, I am convinced, has very much embarrassed the progress of the revolution in other parts of South America, as well as in New Spain, while

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* Nobility has been entirely abolished since O'Higgins, (or, if you will, since San Martin, for I have heard him censured for it by a British officer, at Buenos Ayres,) became director. Mr. Bland states in his report, that the *mayorasgos*, or feudal privileges, have been in like manner abolished. What more important steps to elevate a people? A constitution! a constitution! some cry out; but is it not by such measures that they are fitted for a constitution?

the secret of the greater energy in the population of Buenos Ayres, is this democratic character of its population.

The year after the revolution, (April, 1811,) a congress was called from the several provinces of Chili; but in the mean time, the same intrigues were set on foot by the audiencia, as in Buenos Ayres, with a view of giving the ascendancy to the Spaniards. Figueroa, a Spanish officer, who had been taken into the service of the junta, was the instrument by which this was to be effected. He attempted to put down the patriots on the day appointed for the election of the deputies of Santiago; a battle ensued in the public square, in which the royalists were defeated. On this occasion, the elder of the three Carreras, (sons of the member of the junta,) then a major of grenadiers, greatly distinguished himself, and made a commencement of the important part which he afterwards acted in the affairs of this country.* The audiencia was put down, the chamber of appeals established, and the viceroy banished.

Disputes soon after took place in the congress; the members for Conception, complained that this portion of Chili was not fairly represented. The dispute was finally settled between the provinces of Conception and that of Santiago, as would appear by a kind

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*This is the Carrera of whom I have spoken; like many other young Americans, he was serving in the Spanish armies when the revolution broke out in America, and made his escape in order to enlist in the cause of his country. He has published a manifesto, justifying his conduct, and criminating his political enemies; it is well written, but there is no reason why the good old rule should be departed from in this instance, *audi alterem partem.*

of treaty, containing articles of confederation, signed by O'Higgins, on the part of the province of Conception. In this paper, the name of Carrera does not appear. The congress, after this, proceeded in its sessions for a time, with apparent harmony, and passed the various decrees which have uniformly marked the incipient stages of the revolution. There was much to be done before there could be said to be any positive advancement towards civil liberty. A writer in the Maryland Censor, professedly an advocate of General Carrera, (as he appears to think him entirely in the right,) makes a remark which deserves attention: "It may be necessary here to remark, that the whole power was, at this time, in the hands of the Larrains; between them and the Carreras there has always existed a family feud. We believe firmly, that both families were the friends of liberty, or to speak more correctly, of the independence of South America; *for these unhappy countries have never known civil liberty under the authority of either.*" While this admission from a writer who avowedly takes the side of Carrera, satisfies me of the uselessness of entering into the question of the comparative merits of the parties, I am not a little surprised at the pains he has taken to enlist the public feeling in favour of one of them. With respect to the concluding part of what I have quoted, if the writer means that civil liberty *as is enjoyed in this country*, was never experienced under either, he only says, in other words, that the revolution in Chili *was not attended by a prodigy!* We ought to look at the previous condition of the people, and see whether any change has taken place: that the great work should be perfected in a day, or a year, or even ten years, was not to be expected by any rational man. If the writer means that there was not as much done as might have been ex-

pected, he ought to have stated, specifically, the *quantum* of improvement that we had a right to expect; for without fixing some standard, it is difficult to come to any agreement. Some men are much more sanguine, perhaps visionary, than others, and some, perhaps, expect too little; the man of experience and discretion will avoid extremes. It is far from my intention to go into a minute examination of the family feuds between the Carreras and the Larrains; I have said enough to show, that the profit or advantage to be derived from settling the merits of the dispute, would not repay the difficulty and labour of the investigation. This is certain, that it has been the cause of serious misfortunes to the country.

After the affair of April, 1811, the next occasion in which the Carreras were conspicuous, was in September of the same year; when, at the instigation of the Larrains, who were then the leaders in the congress, the three brothers, the eldest a major, and the others in lower ranks, attacked the artillery barracks, and seized the commander: this officer was an European, and suspected of being favourable to the princess of Brazils. Mr. Poinsett states, "that after this action, some reform was made in the representation, and the congress commenced business by inviting all who were inimical to the present order of things, to retire from the kingdom. They rendered the clergy inimical to the cause of independence, by forbidding them to receive any money from their parishioners, for the performance of their clerical duties; assigning a moderate salary to the curates in lieu of fees. They passed an act manumitting the future offspring of slaves, and declared, that all slaves brought into Chili after this period, should receive their freedom

after six months residence. They opened the ports to commerce, and published commercial regulations. The members of the cabildo were made elective. The first junta, or executive council, was composed of seven members. The struggle for power between the family of the Larrains and that of the Carreras, commenced at this period. After the successful attack on the artillery barracks, the eldest was promoted to the colonelcy of the grenadiers, and the youngest to that of the artillery; from the barracks of these officers, a remonstrance was addressed to the congress, which induced that body to depose the junta of seven, and to appoint an executive of five. The elder Carrera entered into the government on this occasion. This junta did not long endure the control of the legislative body, and the congress was dissolved on the 2d September, 1811. Some of the members of the executive resigned on this occasion, and a new junta was formed, consisting of three persons; J. M. Carrera, J. Portales, and J. M. Cerda. The members of the southern provinces protested loudly against *this flagrant breach of the privileges of the people*, and upon their arrival in Conception, excited their constituents to oppose the executive of Santiago, and to take up arms in defence of their rights." If these facts be correct, and there is no reason to doubt them, the Carreras are represented as commencing the civil feud, if not by usurpation, at least by high-handed and flagrant outrage. The statement of Mr. Poinsett, is supported by "The Outline," but in strong language of reprobation. "The Carreras being encouraged by the happy result on the 4th of September, formed a plan for placing themselves at the head of the government; one of them was major in the grenadiers, another a captain in the artillery. Having

succeeded in gaining an ascendancy over the men in their different corps, they put themselves at the head of the troops on the 15th of November, 1811, and compelled the congress to depose the members which composed the junta, and to nominate in their stead three new members, one of whom was J. M. Carrera. The junta decreed that a new regiment of cavalry, which was called *grand guardia nacional*, should be formed, and J. M. Carrera was appointed colonel of it, that they might succeed *in keeping their usurped power*. Thus strengthened, the junta proceeded to dissolve the congress; which they did on the 2nd of December, 1811. The new junta was entirely biassed by the Carreras, to whom the young military were likewise devoted. They ruled without controul, and, notwithstanding the acknowledgment of king Ferdinand, which had been made by the proceeding government, they changed the Spanish for a tri-coloured flag. The Carreras did not peaceably enjoy their usurped power, they were threatened with four conspiracies; which they succeeded in suppressing."

It appears that in consequence of this conduct of the Carreras, the flames of civil war were lighted up. Forces were collected on both sides, and marched to the banks of the river Maule, which separates Santiago from Conception. The latter being destitute of resources, was forced to submit to the capital. A circumstance took place shortly afterwards, which places the conduct of the Carreras, in a light, if possible, still more unfavourable. The second brother, who had now become colonel of the grenadiers, attempted to awe the executive into his own measures. J. M. Carrera resigned his office in the junta, and his father was appointed in his stead.' These are facts, which cannot be satisfactorily explained away; they clearly prove, that whatever virtues the Carreras might have

possessed, whatever merit is due to their exertions in the cause of independence; their insatiate thirst for power proved their own ruin and that of their country. The brothers were afterwards reconciled, and J. M. Carrera was reinstated in the junta. A constitution was framed, and being signed by the *military*, the cabildo, and all the respectable inhabitants, was adopted by the government; one of its principal features was, a provision that the power of the state should be invested in a senate. The first junta had been acknowledged by the regency of Spain, and the intercourse with Lima had been uninterrupted; during this time the dissentions, however, between the two provinces, had induced the viceroy to attempt the execution of a plan for extinguishing the flame of the revolution; troops were thrown into the province of Conception, and possession was taken of the principal military points on the south of Chili. Exertions were now made by the Carreras to repel them, they marched with their forces to the banks of the Maule. J. M. Carrera, at the head of five hundred men, crossed the river in the night time, and surprised the enemy's camp at Yerbas Buenas, on which they retreated towards Conception, but were overtaken by the Chilians at St. Carlos, and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which both claimed the victory. The royalists then retired to Chillan. While J. M. Carrera left his brother at the head of the main body, he marched against Talcaguana, which he took by assault.* Chillan was afterwards besieged, but without success.

It is stated by the author of "The Outline," that the junta, being freed from the influence of the Carreras,

* "The garrisons left at Pereja in Talcagnana and La Conception, were inconsiderable, and their chiefs escaped to Peru at the approach of the patriots, who thus recovered those places."—The Outline, p. 173.

by their absence in the army, proceeded to re-model the army, and establish themselves at Talca, so as to be near the seat of war. He further states, "that the army continued under the command of J. M. Carrera, who ruled without contoul over the country where his troops were stationed, but the people growing weary of his despotism, as well as of the devastations committed by his army, openly declared throughout the whole intendency of Conception for the royalists. Carrera proved himself, likewise, an unskilful general, and the government determined to remove him. On the 24th of November, 1813, O'Higgins was appointed to the command of the army. Carrera refused to resign, but the army declaring in favour of O'Higgins, he was obliged to yield, and afterwards on his way to Santiago he was taken prisoner and conducted to Chillan." Mr. Poinsett simply states, that the junta proceeded to re-model the army, and appointed O'Higgins general in chief, in place of Carrera, at which the three brothers took offence, and withdrew from it. General Gainsa arrived from Lima with reinforcements, and an active campaign immediately opened, in which, according to "The Outline," O'Higgins displayed activity and military skill. The royalists being better supplied with cavalry, endeavoured to reach the capital by forced marches, but were induced, by the generalship of O'Higgins, to abandon their plan, after they had crossed the Maule, and taken possession of Talca. The capture of this place by the royalists, and the precipitate retreat of the junta, occasioned a commotion in Santiago,* the

* There appears to have always been some leaven of malcontents in this place, to take advantage of the reverses of the patriots, not openly in favour of Spain, *but covertly, by taking sides*

junta was dissolved, and Lastra, the governor of Valparaiso, declared supreme director. At this critical juncture, the capital being still threatened, an accommodation was effected through the mediation of commodore Hillyar, commanding the British squadron in the Pacific; by this, it was agreed, that the royalists should evacuate the territory of Chili, in the course of two months, that the Spanish regency should be acknowledged, and that deputies should be sent to the Spanish cortes. The treaty was signed on the 5th May, 1814. In the mean time, the Carreras had escaped from their place of confinement in Chillan, and were actively engaged in collecting their partisans. The troops in Santiago joined their standard, and *they deposed Lastra on the 23rd August*, 1814. The junta was re-established with J. M. Carrera as its president. The author of "The Outline" states, that the inhabitants of Santiago, had no particular attachment to Lastra, but highly disapproved of this new revolution which again placed the Carreras at the head of the government; and that the return of O'Higgins with his army from Talca, was immediately desired. He, in consequence, marched towards the capital. According to Mr. Poinsett, his object on this occasion, was to enforce the treaty entered into with the royalists, and that the conduct of the Carreras arose from their not being included in the general amnesty and stipulation for the release of prisoners.*

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with one of the factions, as convenience suited. I entertain no doubt but that infinite pains have been taken by the royalists to blow the flames of civil discord.

* Would this have justified them in deposing the government? I am not disposed to decide hastily whether it would or would not. It must be kept in mind *that none of the parties, at this time,*

The armies of Carrera and O'Higgins met on the plains of Maypo, then the scene of a disgraceful civil feud, but afterwards of the glorious victory that will ever be celebrated in the annals of American liberty. According to Mr. Poinsett, a bloody battle was fought, which terminated in favour of Carrera. It appeared that the viceroy of Lima had refused to ratify the treaty, and that Osorio was advancing with reinforcements he had brought with the intention of striking a decisive blow; *the civil war was instantly ended, and both parties united against the common enemy.* Carrera is said to have given dissatisfaction by displacing a number of officers, who were the best in the service, as soon as he had the power in his hands, which gave rise to discontents and desertions. He resigned the command to O'Higgins and returned to the capital. Osorio, at the head of four thousand men, advanced as far as Cachapoal, and O'Higgins shut himself up in Rancagua, against which a succession of attacks was made during thirty-six hours. Carrera approached with reinforcements, which induced Osorio at first to retreat, but Carrera falling back upon Santiago, he renewed the attack, and O'Higgins was entirely defeated. J. M. Carrera escaped across the mountains with about six hundred troops, and in all about two thousand refugees of every age and sex, sought protection from the neighbouring republic. A number of them went down to Buenos Ayres, or dispersed in the neighbouring provinces. The whole of

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were contending for absolute independence from Spain; that was reserved for San Martin and O'Higgins, on the expulsion of the Spanish authorities.

the captain-generalship fell into the hands of the royalists, in October, 1814, and numerous proscriptions, arrests, and punishments followed. Upwards of a hundred of the principal inhabitants, among whom was the father of the Carreras, were transported to the island of Juan Fernandez. Every thing done by the patriots was annulled, the schools were shut up, the revolutionary writings were destroyed wherever they could be found, the printing presses demolished, and the penalty of death denounced against those who would not bring in their arms and surrender them up. No pains were spared to obliterate every trace of the revolution. The European Spaniards, and a considerable proportion of the clergy, again raised their heads. It is said, that even some among the native Americans, disgusted with the feuds and dissentions which had prevailed, gladly embraced the promises of quiet and security in a return to their former state. There can be little doubt that the combined forces of the Larrains and Carreras, would have been sufficient, if not to have expelled the enemy, at least to have protracted the contest, and have worn them out. The Spaniards evidently saw the advantages to be derived from these divisions in Chili, and probably used every means to foment them; it would not be a wild conjecture that the Carreras had been suffered to escape from Chillan, with the express view of seeing the flames of civil war once more lighted up between these factions, whose mutual hatred had been gradually increasing. While at Buenos Ayres, I had frequent opportunities of seeing the deadly hatred of the partisans of Carrera to San Martin and O'Higgins; it even exceeded that of the old Spaniards, who look upon the former as the most serious enemy their cause has

ever had in America.* After the reverses experienced by San Martin at Talca, it is said, that some attempts were made at Santiago, by the old Spaniards, and the Carreras conjointly, to produce a counter revolution; I think this improbable, yet such is the violence of the party animosity between the leaders, that such a thing is far from being impossible.

San Martin, who was about this time appointed governor of Cuyo, immediately sat about organizing an army, for the purpose of attempting the re-conquest of Chili. But this was the work of time. It was not until the beginning of the year 1817, more than two years after the conquest, that he found himself fully prepared to scale the Andes, with an army of four thousand men, an enterprise which has been justly ranked amongst the boldest military achievements. Like a great and prudent general, he risked nothing until he found himself perfectly prepared, having trained and disciplined his army with incredible pains. His march across the mountains was executed with so much skill, that he descended into Chili before it was known that he was on his way. I shall, probably, have occasion to say more of the passage of the Andes, in the course of this work. It has been stated,

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* I took some pains to ascertain their feelings towards San Martin. I was enabled to do this by an intimacy with a person who was friendly to the old order of things, and at the same time personally intimate with the Carreras. I particularly observed that they were both extravagantly elated at the dispersion of San Martin's army at Talca; but, I believe there was no understanding between them; the Spaniards rejoiced, because there was a hope for them in the ruin of San Martin—the Carrera party saw in it a prospect of being again elevated to power—it was not unlikely that they might combine to effect the same object with very different views.

that his army consisted of two thousand Chilian refugees, and two thousand negroes from Buenos Ayres! This, with a view at once to detract from the merit of San Martin, and to take away from the United Provinces, all the credit of the achievement. The number of Chilians in the army of San Martin, did not exceed a few hundred; the number of negroes, probably amounted to a thousand or twelve hundred; the remainder were whites of the United Provinces. The great reliance of San Martin, was on his own corps of cavalry, twelve hundred strong, disciplined with great pains by himself; as a cavalry officer in particular, he is said greatly to excel. It would have been unnecessary to have noticed these particulars, if certain writers, who, listening only to their prejudices, had not taken pains to detract from the merits of this officer. There is but one sentiment among the disinterested and impartial, with respect to the part of the United Provinces, and of their general, San Martin, in this great military achievement, and nothing can more strongly evince the deeply-rooted prejudice of those who would attempt to deprive them of their just share of its honours.

Our arrival at Buenos Ayres happened to be during Lent; the circus and theatre were closed, and public amusements suspended. I felt some curiosity to witness the bull-fights, the favourite amusement in all Spanish countries. As soon as the circus was opened, I took the earliest opportunity of attending it. It is a circular amphitheatre, capable of containing between four and five thousand persons. The arena is about one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, with an enclosure of about six feet high, with openings at intervals, sufficiently wide to admit the body of a man; at one end, there is a small covered

pen, with stalls, in which the bulls are confined, and opening into the arena by a gate. On the opposite side there is a large gate, at which the bulls are dragged out after being killed. I found the place considerably crowded, but chiefly by the lower classes of people, at least, the females appeared to be such. At one side of the toro, there was a seat appropriated to the city authorities; formerly, the viceroy, and some of the principal public functionaries, had also their places set apart, but this is no longer the case, as it is considered even disreputable for those persons to be seen here. The town-major, who is the chief officer of the police, always attends on these occasions, and presides, in order to prevent any disorder or disturbance. Immediately below his seat there was a band of music, which played before the commencement of the bull-fights, and during the intervals between them. When the spectators had begun to assemble, a guard of soldiers, about thirty in number, was marched into the arena, and after going through a variety of evolutions, were divided into small detachments, and distributed through the different parts of the toro. The different combatants who were to display their skill and courage on the occasion, came forward, and made their obeisance to the town-major, and then retired to their places. The first two, called the *picadores*, were on horseback, one a Chilian, of enormous stature and bodily strength, the other a half Indian, of a more delicate frame, and a more sprightly countenance. They had both been convicted of crimes, and condemned to fight bulls for the amusement of the public; their irons were not taken off until immediately before entering the toro. There were five or six others, called *bandaleros*, with different coloured flags, for the purpose of provoking

and teasing the bull; the last were the *mattadores*, having in the left hand a flag, and in the right a sword. The *picadores* were armed with pikes, about twelve feet in length, with the point so shaped, as to wound the animal without penetrating deeply; they posted themselves on the left side of the place whence the bull was to be let out, and at the distance of fifteen or twenty paces from each other. On the signal given, the gate flew open, and a furious animal rushed forth. He immediately made at the Chilian, but feeling the point of the steel in his shoulder, he suddenly wheeled round and ran towards the middle of the arena, when the *bandaleros* endeavoured to provoke him with their flags. It was the turn of the mestiso to receive him next on his lance, but, it was not until after the bull had chased both several times round the circus, that he could venture to take such a position as would justify his engaging him; it was necessary to be near the enclosure, so as to have its support, otherwise, in a furious assault of the bull, he might be overturned. The animal attacked the half Indian with greater fury than the other, but on feeling the steel, withdrew in the same manner; after this was repeated several times, the bull seemed no longer inclined to attack the *picadores*. At the tap of the drum, the *picadores* withdrew from the contest; the *bandaleros* next advanced with crackers, which they dexterously thrust into different parts of the animal's body, who had now become rather sullen, but as soon as they exploded and scorched him severely, he grew furious, and ran about bellowing with rage and agony: no one but a savage could witness this scene, for the first time, without being shocked. The crackers being consumed, the animal stood still, his tongue lolling out, with panting sides, and eyes blind with rage. The

mattadore now came forward; at first, the generous animal shewed reluctance to take notice of him, but on being provoked, he made a plunge at the flag held in his hand, while the *mattadore*, dexterously avoiding him, thrust his sword between the neck and shoulder, thus giving him a mortal wound. The band of music struck up, the gates of the toro were thrown open, five or six gauchos rushed in on horseback, threw their lassoes about him, some fastening round his horns, others about his legs and body, and in this manner, in an instant bore him out of the circus, in the midst of the shouts of the multitude. Seven other bulls were let out in succession, and the same circumstances repeated with very little variation. The whole was terminated with a feat, performed by a wild gaucho; the bull being let out, he was immediately lassoed by the gauchos on horseback, who threw him, and held him fast by pulling in opposite directions; he was then tied, and a saddle girt put on him by the gaucho, who was bare-legged, and had nothing on but a shirt, and a kind of petticoat, something like a Scotch kilt, the ordinary dress of these people. The animal being properly prepared, he was suffered to rise with the gaucho on his back, and ran perfectly wild and furious around the circus, leaping, plunging, and bellowing, to the great diversion of the spectators, while the gaucho was continually goading him with an enormous pair of spurs, and lashing him with his whip. When the animal was sufficiently tortured in this way, the gaucho drew his knife and plunged it into the spinal marrow; the bull fell as if struck by lightning, rolled upon his back with his feet in the air, which were not even seen to quiver. Such is the barbarous *amusement* of bull-fighting, formerly the delight of the representatives of the kings of Spain, and their mimic

royalty; in a more enlightened and a happier age, confined here to the coarse and vulgar, and it is to be hoped, that, in the progress of science, liberty, and civilization, will disappear for ever.

The theatre was attended by respectable people, but I found it in a low state, though I had not expected much. It is but an indifferent building, yet capable of containing a considerable number of persons. The ladies were dressed with taste and elegance, and some of them handsome. With respect to the interior arrangements, the orchestra, the scenery, the dresses of the actors, and the whole of the performance, I presume they were about equal to our theatre during our revolutionary war. When the curtain rose, the national hymn was sung by the whole of the theatric corps, accompanied by the orchestra, during which, it is the etiquette for every person to stand up; the song was followed by thunders of applause. The performance is about equal to that of New Orleans, except that the prompter takes rather too audible a part. Between the acts, the audience flow into an extensive coffee-house, which communicates by a folding door. Here hundreds are seen, officers and citizens, walking about promiscuously, or in groups around small tables, drinking chocolate or coffee, or taking other refreshments. The men of Buenos Ayres idle away a great deal of their time at these places, of which, there are six or eight in the city; they are always crowded at noon and in the evening, as at New Orleans.

There is a society *de buen gusto*, for the purpose of improving the stage; it is one of the modes in a free country, of inculcating patriotic sentiments. Several very good plays have been translated and performed, and occasional pieces got up. In honour of the victory of Chacabuco, a dramatic production of some merit was

produced, entitled the battle of Marathon, the incidents of which somewhat resemble each other.* The tragedy of Pizarro has been translated, and is sometimes performed, and also several other pieces.

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* The same play was performed after the victory of Maipu, with still greater propriety, as it was actually reported that San Martin had been entirely defeated. The picture of San Martin was exhibited on the stage, and I had an opportunity of witnessing the popular enthusiasm in favour of *el heroe*, as he is generally called.

APPENDIX.

DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.

Mr. Rodney to the Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, NOV. 5, 1818.

SIR,

I have the honour to present the report herewith inclosed, agreeably to the desire of Mr. Graham, who, on reflection, preferred submitting some additional remarks, in a separate paper. For this purpose, two of the documents referred to in the report, remain in his possession—Dr. Funes's outline of events in the United Provinces, since the revolution, and the manifesto of independence by the Congress at Tucuman.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) C. A. RODNEY.

Hon. John Q. Adams, Secretary of State.

Mr. Rodney to the Secretary of State.

SIR,

I have now the honour to submit to your consideration, my report on the subject of the late mission to South America, embracing the information derived from the various sources within my power, so far as I had an opportunity of improving the advantages possessed.

With the history of the conquest of the Spanish possessions in America, you must be familiar. They were principally, if not exclusively, achieved by private adventurers. When completed, a most oppressive system of government, or rather despotism, was established by the parent country.

These extensive regions were originally swayed by two viceroys. The dominions of Spain in North America were under the government of the viceroy of Mexico, and all her possessions in South America were at the control of the viceroy of Peru.

The remoteness of some parts of the country from the residence of the viceroy at Lima, occasioned, in 1718, the establishment of another viceroyalty at Santa Fee de Bogota, in the kingdom of New Grenada. In 1731, New Grenada was divided, and a number of the provinces composing that kingdom, were separated from it. These were put under the jurisdiction of a captain-general and president, whose seat of government was at Caraccas.

In 1568, Chili was erected into a separate captain-generalship; in 1778, a new viceroyalty was established at Buenos Ayres, comprehending all the Spanish possessions to the east of the western Cordilleras and to the south of the river Maranon.

This immense empire seems, according to the laws of the Indies, to have been considered a distinct kingdom of itself, though united to Spain, and annexed to the crown of Castile. In this light, it is viewed by Baron Humboldt, in his essay on New Spain.

With some slight shades of difference in the regulations established in these governments, the prominent features of their political institutions, exhibit a striking resemblance, as the general system was the same.

Their commerce was confined to the parent country, and to Spanish vessels exclusively. They were prohibited, under the penalty of death, to trade with foreigners. The natives of Old Spain composed the body of their merchants. Though this part of the system had, previously to the revolution, been relaxed in some degree, particularly by the statute of free commerce, as it is styled, the relief was partial, and the restrictions continued severe and oppressive.

All access to the Spanish settlements was closed to foreigners,

and even the inhabitants of the different provinces were prohibited from intercourse with one another, unless under the strictest regulations.

The various manufactures, that might interfere with those of Spain, were not permitted. They were prevented, under severe penalties, from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. In climates most congenial to them, the culture of the grape and the olive was prohibited; on account of the distance of Peru and Chili, and the difficulty of transporting oil and wine to these remote regions, they were permitted to plant vines and olives, but were prohibited the culture of tobacco. At Buenos Ayres, by special indulgence of the viceroys, they were allowed to cultivate grapes and olives merely for the use of the table.

They were compelled to procure from the mother country, articles of the first necessity; and were thus rendered dependent on her for the conveniences of life, as well as luxuries. The crown possessed the monopoly of tobacco, salt, and gunpowder.

To these oppressive regulations and restrictions was added an odious system of taxation. From the Indians, was exacted a tribute in the shape of a poll tax, or a certain servitude in the mines, called the mita. A tenth part of the produce of cultivated lands, was taken under the denomination of tithes. The alcavala, a tax varying from two and a half to five per cent. on every sale and re-sale of all things moveable and immoveable, was rigidly exacted, though in some cases a commutation was allowed. Royal and municipal duties were laid on imports and on the tonnage, entrance and clearance of vessels, under the different appellations of almoxarifasgo, sea, alcavala, corso, consulado, armada, and armadilla. To these may be added the royal fifths of the precious metals, the most important tax in the mining districts. Besides all these, there were stamp taxes, tavern licenses, and sums paid for the sale of offices, of titles of nobility, papal bulls, the composition and confirmation of lands, with a number of others of inferior grade.

Under the Spanish monarchs, who had early obtained from the pope the ecclesiastical dominion, and thus had united in their royal persons, all civil and religious authority, a most oppressive

hierarchy was established with its numerous train of offices and orders, succeeded by the inquisition.

The posts of honor and profit, from the highest to the lowest, were filled almost exclusively by natives of old Spain.

The principal code of laws which thus maintained the supremacy of Spain over those distant regions, almost locked up from the rest of the world, emanated from the council of the Indies established by the king, in which he was supposed to be always present. The royal rescripts, the recopilationes of the Indies, and the partidas furnished the general rules of decision; and when these were silent or doubtful, recourse was had to the opinions of professional men.

This system was generally executed by the viceroys, captains-general, and by the tribunals of justice, with a spirit corresponding with the rigorous policy that produced it. To this form of government, the country had for centuries submitted with implicit obedience; and probably would have continued to submit much longer, but for events in this country and the changes in Europe.

The sagacious minds of many able writers, penetrating into the future, had predicted, at some distant date, a revolution in South America, before that in North America had commenced. From the period of the successful termination of our own struggle for independence, that of the inhabitants of the South has been with more confidence foretold; and there is reason to believe it has been hastened by this fortunate event. The conduct of Spain, during the war of our revolution, was calculated to make a lasting impression on her colonies. This result was then foreseen by intelligent politicians; many were surprised that she could be so blind to her own interests, after she had on one occasion manifested the strongest suspicion of Paraguay; for to her scrupulous jealousy of this power, the expulsion of the Jesuits from that country in 1750 is to be attributed.

The wars that arose from the French revolution, have produced in Europe, changes of the greatest magnitude, which have had an immense influence on the affairs of South America. When Spain joined France against the combined princes, she exposed

her distant possessions to British hostilities. The great naval power of England gave her ready access to the American colonies. Engaged in an arduous contest, she was prompted by her feelings and interests, to retaliate on Spain, the conduct she experienced from her during the war of our independence. Encouraged, perhaps, by the councils of her enemies, the first symptoms of insurrection, in the continental possessions of Spain, were exhibited in the year 1797, in Venezuela. These were succeeded by the attempts of Miranda in the same quarter, which were accompanied, or were followed, since the vacillating state of the Spanish monarchy, by revolutionary movements in Mexico, Grenada, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres; and from which scarcely any part of the Spanish dominions in America has been entirely exempt.

The occurrences that led the way to the subsequent important events in the provinces of La Plata, were the invasion of the British under Popham and Beresford in the year 1806, and their expulsion a few months afterwards by the collected forces of the country under Leniers and Pueyrredon. These incidents fortunately gave to the people a just idea of their own strength, and they afterwards repelled with a firmness and bravery, that did them great honour, the formidable attack of the British under General Whitlocke.

The wretched state to which Spain was reduced by the policy, the power, and the arts of Napoleon, the resignation of Charles IV. in favour of Ferdinand VII. and the renunciation by both in favour of Napoleon, were productive of the most important results. They threw the kingdom into the greatest confusion. The alternate success and disasters of the French armies, produced a new era in Spain. The people generally revolted at the idea of being governed by the brother of Napoleon, to whom he had transferred the crown. Juntas were established, who acted in the name of Ferdinand, then confined in France. These were substituted for the ancient Cortes, and the regular council of the nation, to which in times of imminent danger, they ought to have recurred agreeably to their usages. Conflicting authorities produced a distracted state of affairs. In the scenes that ensued, the

proper attention was not paid to the American provinces. Their conduct towards them was versatile and inconsistent; they were lost sight of or neglected until it was too late. Conceiving they were abandoned by the parent state, they thought it justifiable to act for themselves. It was not very long before the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, embracing the example of their brethren in Spain, established a junta, which assumed the reins of government; and, finally, in the year 1810, sent off the viceroy, Cisneros, and his principal adherents. For a summary of events subsequent to this period, until the time of my departure, I beg leave to refer to the outline subjoined, (Appendix A.) from the pen of Dr. Funes, drawn up, in part, at my request. Without vouching for the perfect accuracy of the work, I think, from the information received, it will probably be found to contain, in general, a correct and impartial sketch of the prominent transactions and occurrences.

In perusing this interesting document, I have to lament, that its pages are marked with some cases of severity and cruelty, which seem almost inseparable from great revolutions. It must, however, be consoling to observe, that they appear to have passed through that state which might possibly have rendered examples necessary; and to have arrived, perhaps, at that stage when the passions becoming less turbulent, and the people more enlightened, a milder system may be expected to prevail.

Their dissentions have produced most of their calamities. In such seasons they were naturally to be expected. But their disputes have been principally healed by the prudent and energetic measures of the Congress, which commenced its sittings in Tucuman in the year 1815, and adjourned in the year following from thence to Buenos Ayres, where it remained in session, occupied with the task of forming a permanent constitution. This respectable body, besides acting as a convention or a constituent assembly, exercises, temporarily, legislative powers. Their sittings are public, with a gallery of audience for citizens and strangers. The debates are frequently interesting, and are conducted with ability and decorum. They are published every month for the information of the people.

The dispute with Artigas, the chief of the Orientals, has not been adjusted. This, with a certain jealousy of the superior influence of the city of Buenos Ayres, on the general affairs of the provinces, the conduct of the government of Buenos Ayres towards the Portuguese, and the high tariff of duties, which I understand have been since reduced, appeared to constitute the principal causes of dissatisfaction at the time of my departure.

The declaration, by Congress, of that independence which they had for many years previously maintained in fact, was a measure of the highest importance, and has been productive of a unanimity and a decision before unknown. This summit of their wishes was only to be reached by slow and gradual progress. The public mind had to be illumined on the subject by their pulpits, their presses, and their public orations. The people were to be prepared for the event. When the season arrived, they cut the knot which could not be untied. The declaration of independence was adopted in the directorship of Mr. Pueyrredon, on the 9th day of July, 1816. It was succeeded by an able exposition of the causes that extorted it, to justify to their fellow-citizens and to the world the measure they had deliberately voted to support with their fortunes and their lives.

Believing the latter paper might be thought worthy of perusal, a translation has been annexed. (Appendix B.)

The salutary influence of this bold and decisive step was at once felt throughout the country. It gave new life and strength to the patriotic cause, and stability to the government. The victories of Chacabuco and Maipu, achieved by the arms of Chili and Buenos Ayres, have produced and confirmed a similar declaration of independence by the people of Chili, which is also annexed, (Appendix C.) and cemented the cordial union existing between the confederate states. The consequence has been, that within these extensive territories, there is scarcely the vestige of a royal army to be found, except on the borders of Peru.

Having thus, in connexion with the succinct account given by Dr. Funes, traced the principal events since the revolution in Buenos Ayres, I shall proceed to state the result of the information received, according to the best opinion I could form, of

the extent, population, government and resources of the United Provinces, with their productions, imports and exports, trade, and commerce.

The late viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, of which that city was the metropolis, was by many considered the largest, as well as the most valuable of all the Spanish dominions in South America, extending in a direct line from its north to its south boundary, a distance of more than two thousand miles; and from its eastern to its western, not less than eleven hundred.

It was composed, at the commencement of the revolution, of the nine provinces or intendencies following: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno.

Watered by the great river La Plata and its numerous tributary streams, which afford an easy communication with countries of an immense extent, and furnishing an easy access to the treasures of South America, it has always been regarded by Spain as one of her most precious acquisitions. Enjoying every variety of climate to be found between different and distant latitudes, and blessed with a large portion of fertile soil, it is capable of producing all that is to be found in the temperate or torrid zones. Immense herds of cattle and horses graze on its extensive plains, and constitute, at this time, their principal source of wealth. The mines of Potosi are also included within its boundaries. There are no woods for a very considerable distance from Buenos Ayres. No forest trees are to be seen on the widely-extended pampas, except at intervals, a solitary umboo. After passing the Saladillo, in a northerly direction, the woods begin, and proceeding in the upper provinces, the hills appear, and mountains rise in succession, interspersed with rich vallies. On the east side of the rivers La Plata and Parana, the country is said to be very fine. The Entre Rios is represented as capable of being made a garden spot; and the Banda Oriental presents hills and dales, rich bottoms, fine streams of water, and at a distance from the great river, on the banks of the smaller streams, some excellent woodland. Between Maldonada and Monte Video, the east ridge of the Cordilleras terminates on the river La Plata.

Since the revolution, five more provinces have been erected, making, in all, fourteen within the limits of the ancient viceroyalty, viz. Tucuman, taken from Salta; Mendoza, or Cuyo, taken from Cordova; Corrientes, Entre Rios, comprising the country between the Uraguay and the Parana, and the Banda Oriental, or eastern shore of the river La Plata. The two last were taken from the province of Buenos Ayres, which was thus reduced to the territory on the south-side of that river. The subordinate divisions of the country, with the principal towns, will be found in the Appendix to this report, with an account of the produce or manufactures of the different districts. (Appendix D.)

Of the fourteen provinces into which the ancient viceroyalty is now divided, five were, at my departure, principally occupied by the royal forces, (which, in consequence of the victory of Maipu, were expected soon to retreat to Lower Peru,) or partially under their influence, viz. Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno; and the nine following independent, *defacto* of Spain, were in the possession of the patriots, viz. Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Mendoza, Salta, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental. But Paraguay, and the city of Santa Fee, act independently of Buenos Ayres. Though Paraguay is not on unfriendly terms with them, and it is hoped, by some, will before long join the union. Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, under General Artigas, in the character of chief of the Orientals, are in a state of hostility with Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video, the capital of the eastern shore, was occupied by a Portuguese army, and a squadron of ships of war from Brazil, blockaded the ports of Colonia and Maldovado, and prohibited the entrance of neutral vessels, unless they paid them the same duties on their cargoes, that were charged on the importation of the goods when landed in the country.

The territory of the United Provinces is computed to contain one hundred and fifty thousand square leagues, though it probably exceeds that quantity. The lands occupied in the country, remote from the cities, are generally converted by their owners into estancias, or large grazing farms for cattle, and chacras for growing grain. The small farms, or quintas, in the neighbourhood of

cities, are in fine order. Those around Buenos Ayres, which furnish their market with an ample supply of fruit and vegetables, are, by irrigation, in the highest state of culture.

The population, exclusive of the Indians, is now calculated at about one million three hundred thousand; but adding the civilized Indians only, who are of great importance, it would, in all, probably exceed two millions.

The whole population consists of nations of Old Spain, and their descendants born in the country, or as they style themselves, South Americans; of Indians civilized, or unreclaimed, with different "casts," or mixed blood; of Africans and their descendants, or Negroes and Mulattoes.

I could not ascertain, with satisfaction, the population of the different provinces: the province of Buenos Ayres contains about one hundred and twenty thousand, whilst the population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental, is computed at fifty thousand.

The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of sixty thousand. The inhabitants of this place appear to be an amiable, and interesting people. They are considered brave and humane, possessing intelligence, capable of great exertions and perseverance, and manifesting a cheerful devotion to the cause of freedom and independence.

There is also a certain mediocrity and equality of fortune prevailing among them, extremely favourable to a union of the popular sentiment, in support of the common weal. Many industrious mechanics, and enterprising merchants, are, however, increasing their estates, and adding to the stock of capital in the country.

The people of the province of Buenos Ayres, residing out of the city, are, generally speaking, poor, and rather indolent. Though a hardy race, and when excited to action, they become zealous defenders of the liberties of their country. They are capable of great improvement, and under the influence of a good example, when a change takes place in their manner and habit of living, they bid fair to become useful and industrious citizens.

The inhabitants of Cordova are said to be more superstitious,

and more industrious, but less patriotic. This is principally attributed to the loss of the trade with Peru, occasioned by the revolutionary war.

Tucuman, I was informed, possessed an excellent population.

The people of Mendoza, or Cuyo, are moral, industrious, and patriotic. They have sacrificed largely at the shrine of independence, supporting with zeal and confidence the cause of their country; whilst the citizens of Santa Fee are represented as immoral and insubordinate, and manifesting, on most occasions, an extreme jealousy of their neighbours.

The population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental, is perhaps not inferior in valour to that of Buenos Ayres; nor is it deficient in military skill, particularly in carrying on a partisan warfare, for which its troops are admirably adapted. Their other good qualities have been, probably, somewhat impaired by the system pursued in that quarter, where they have been compelled to give up every thing like civil avocations, and to continue without any regular kind of government, under the absolute control of a chief, who, whatever may be his political principles, or professions, in practice concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, in himself.

The General Congress of the United Provinces, assembled at Buenos Ayres, on the third of December, 1817, established by a provisional statute, a temporary form of government, which will be found in Appendix marked (E.)

This Congress is comprised of deputies from the different provinces. It actually consists of twenty-six members. But as a representative is allowed for every fifteen thousand citizens, it would be more numerous if all the provinces had sent delegates in that ratio of population.

With some exceptions, and particularly of that palladium of our rights, which is unknown to the civil law, the trial by jury, the provisional constitution will be found, on an attentive perusal, to contain a distinct recognition of many of the vital principles of free government. A church establishment also, that of the Catholic Faith, is contrary to our ideas of

religious freedom; though a measure adopted from necessity, perhaps, by them.

It declares that all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, resides in the nation. The congress are to be chosen by electors, who are to be voted for by the people in the primary assemblies. The cabildos, or municipalities, are to be elected immediately by the citizens. It recognises the independence of the judiciary, and declares the tenure of office, with respect to the superior judges, to be held during good behaviour. It provides for the election of a chief magistrate by congress, removeable when they choose to appoint a successor, and responsible for the execution of the duties of his office, which are defined and limited. In the oath of office, he is sworn to preserve the integrity and independence of the country.

The three great departments of state, of the treasury, and of war, are distinctly marked out, and their respective powers and duties assigned.

On some subjects, it enters more into detail than is usual with us, particularly in those of their army, navy, and militia. But this perhaps, in their situation, was necessary.

It provides that no citizen shall accept a title of nobility, without forfeiting the character of citizenship.

It provides also against general warrants, and the arrest of individuals, unless on probable proof of guilt.

It contains a salutary provision that a judge, having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of a cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties. This constitution is but temporary; the congress are engaged in the task of forming a permanent one. In the mean time no alteration can be made in the present, unless with the consent of two-thirds of the members. In this manner some alterations have been adopted.

The subject of a permanent constitution was before a committee of sixteen members of congress. There was a difference of opinion prevailing amongst them, on the point of a confederated or a consolidated government. If they should adopt the former, they will frame the constitution, in all probability, nearly after the model of that of the United States. Should they decide on the

latter, it is highly probable they will incorporate the leading features of our system into their form of government. They seem to concur in the proposition, to have a chief magistrate elected for a term of years, and a representative legislature to consist of two branches. A senate, to constitute the most permanent body, and a house of representatives, whose term of service will be of shorter duration.

Perhaps it would be better for them to delay the completion of this all-important task, after the example of the United States, until a period of peace. Their present provisional statute is an improvement on those which preceded it; and we may expect their proposed constitution will be still more perfect, as they advance in the knowledge of those principles on which republican governments are constituted.

But however free in theory this provisional statute may be, it is undoubtedly true, that unless administered agreeably to its letter and spirit, it will not afford security to the citizen. Whether any infractions have occurred since the date of its existence, I cannot pretend to determine, not being in full possession of the facts.

When we recollect that they have the benefit of our example, it may reasonably be expected, that they will, in general, adhere to their written constitution. They have also the fatal result of the French revolution, warning them of the dangers of its excesses, of which they appear to be sensible.

The productions and the manufactures of the different provinces, will be found in Appendix D.; but I was unable to procure any satisfactory estimates of the probable value or amount in each province. There is, however, a considerable internal trade carried on in the interchange of various articles, between the several provinces; cattle, horses, and mules, furnish a considerable source of barter; with the latter, Peru is usually supplied: the Paraguay tea is a great article of trade throughout the country; the brandy, wine, raisins, and figs of Mendoza and San Juan, are becoming important; the hides of oxen, the skins of the vacuna and granaco, with a number of fine furs, afford valuable articles of exchange. These, with the foreign goods, transported in every direction from Buenos Ayres, very readily, by oxen and mules

Their navy is small, and some of their vessels are laid up in which also furnish the means of carrying their native productions to their sea ports, form a branch of trade of great magnitude, considering the population of the country.

Their exports are calculated with some degree of accuracy, at ten millions of dollars. These consist principally of ox hides, jerk beef, and tallow, the present great staples of the country. A variety of furs and peltry, some grain, copper, mostly brought from Chili; with gold and silver in bullion, and in coin, chiefly from the mines of Potosi.

The imports are computed to be about equal to their exports. British manufactures form the principal mass, and they are to be had in great abundance. They consist of woollen and cotton goods of every description; some of them wrought to imitate the manufactures of the country: ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, hats, porter, ale, and cheese, are among the remaining articles.

From the United States they receive lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description, coaches and carriages of all sorts, codfish, mackerel, shad and herring, leather, boots and shoes, powder and munitions of war, and naval stores, ships and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy or for privateers.

From Brazils, they receive sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum.

From the north of Europe they receive steel and iron, and from France, a number of articles of its manufacture.

Their foreign commerce is principally carried on by British capitalists, though there are some Americans, a few French, and other foreign merchants, also settled at Buenos Ayres; they are all placed, I believe, on the same footing of equality.

The revenue of the state may be estimated at about three millions of dollars annually; but their system of finance is very imperfect, and although their debt is small, their credit is low; they have hitherto avoided the issuing of paper money, and they have established no bank; but they have sometimes anticipated their revenue, by giving due bills, receivable in payment for duties, or goods imported, or articles exported; the impost furnishes the principal part of the revenue. A copy of their tariff, as at first established, was some time since transmitted, I believe, to the de-

partment of state. In this, the duties were generally specific and high. I understand they have been lately reduced, as their exorbitancy had occasioned much smuggling.

Voluntary contributions from those friendly to the revolution, and forced loans from the old Spaniards, have constituted another portion of their funds. To show the public capital adequate to all exigencies, their different civil, military, and naval establishments have been taken into view, and are comprised in the estimate furnished; a thing unusual with us, but they have omitted their public lands, which, if a prudent use is made of them, must, at no distant day, become a very productive source of revenue to the state.

The mines of Potosi, which, in all probability, will very soon fall into their hands again, may furnish them with a considerable supply of the precious metals. It is stated on respectable authority, that so late as the year 1790, the amount of gold and silver coined at Potosi, in that year, was calculated to have been 299,846 dollars in gold, and 2,983,176 dollars in silver.

The state of their army, and the condition of their navy, will be seen by a reference to the original return presented. (Appendix F.)

Their army is composed of regular troops, civicos, and militia. In one or other of these classes, they are educated to the military art, and as far as I had an opportunity, and was capable of judging, they appeared to be well acquainted with the elements of their profession. Their forces, according to the paper furnished, are estimated at nearly thirty thousand men. They are composed of one thousand two hundred and ninety-six artillery, thirteen thousand six hundred and ninety-three infantry, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighteen cavalry; of which, twelve thousand one hundred and forty-three are troops of the line, seven thousand and forty-one are civicos, and ten thousand five hundred and seventy-three are militia. These form the different armies of the centre, of Peru, of the Andes, of Cordova, and the auxiliary forces in the Entre Rios. This statement, however, only includes the militia of the province of Buenos Ayres itself. Their supply of arms and munitions of war is ample, as will be seen by the statement annexed, on that subject.

ordinary. A list of them, as well as of their privateers, will be found in Appendix F. Their private armed vessels are subjected to very strict regulations, agreeably to their prize code, which is among the original papers presented and herewith delivered. It may be proper, in this place to introduce the subject of the irregular conduct of the privateers under the patriot flag, against which, the commissioners were directed to remonstrate. Having taken an opportunity of explaining to Mr. Tagle, the secretary of state, the proceedings of our government relative to Amelia island and Galveztown; agreeably to their instructions, the commissioners embraced a suitable occasion, to urge the just cause of complaint, which the malpractices of private armed vessels, wearing the patriot colours, had furnished our government with. On both topics, they had long and interesting conversations. With the conduct of the government respecting Amelia island and Galveztown, Mr. Tagle expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and he disclaimed for his government, any privity or participation in the lodgments made at those places, by persons acting in the name of the patriots of South America. In reference to the acts of cruizers under the patriot flags, he said he was sensible that great irregularities had occurred, though his government had done every thing in their power to prevent them, and were willing, if any instance of aggression were pointed out, to direct an inquiry into the case, and if the facts were established, to punish those concerned, and redress the injured individuals. He professed his readiness to adopt any measures that would more effectually prevent a recurrence of such acts, in which he expressed his belief, that the privateers of Buenos Ayres, had rarely participated, though the character of the government had suffered from the conduct of others. He stated that they had, on one occasion, sent out some of their public vessels to examine all cruisers wearing the Buenos Ayrean flag, to see that they were lawfully commissioned, and to ascertain whether they had violated their instructions.

Among the causes of dissatisfaction, to which I have alluded, the preponderance of the capital has been mentioned. Its great weight in the scale of national affairs, is to be ascribed to its

greater exertions in the national cause. These are owing to its comparative wealth, and to its active, intelligent, and enterprising population. The armies that have been raised in this city and the neighbouring country, with the supplies in money and munitions of war, drawn from these sources, have been truly extraordinary.

It would be a difficult task to make an exact calculation, or to form even a probable estimate, but all seemed to concede the superior merit claimed on account of their exertions, when compared with their wealth and population: and it is not unlikely that Buenos Ayres has in consequence assumed a higher tone, and acquired a controuling influence, which she has sometimes abused.

Another source of discontent is, the unfortunate dispute between the Banda Oriental, and Buenos Ayres, which had also an influence on the proceedings of the latter towards the Portuguese.

The original cause of division, may be traced to a jealousy, long subsisting between the rival cities of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. This has become habitual, and has extended to the country. Private interests, and personal views have also increased their dissentions.

General Artigas (who bears the character of chief of the Orientals, as has been already stated, and has also assumed that of the protector of the Entre Rios and Santa Fee,) was originally in the royal service, a captain in a provincial corps. In this he continued for some time after the revolution had commenced at Buenos Ayres. But in the year 1811, taking offence, as it is said, at some conduct of the Spanish commandant of Colonia, he abandoned the royal cause, and entered into the service of the patriots. So early as the year 1813, when acting against Monte Video, he became dissatisfied with Sarratea, the commander-in-chief from Buenos Ayres. On his removal from the head of the army, he quarrelled with general Rondeau, who it was supposed would have been acceptable to him, and finally withdrew, before the siege of Monte Video was finished under general Alvear. For this conduct, Posadas, when he succeeded to the government, treated him as a de-

serter from their service. By a proclamation, he offered a reward for his apprehension, and set a price upon his head: an act which general Artigas never forgot or forgave.

During the subsequent directorship of Alvear, he induced the cabildo of Buenos Ayres, to issue a similar proclamation against general Artigas. When Alvear was dismissed, the people of Buenos Ayres endeavoured to atone for their conduct, by burning, with every mark of ignominy, the degrading proclamation. They also addressed a conciliatory letter to the general, and received from him a corresponding answer. These were preliminary to a fruitless attempt at reconciliation, made by the director *ad interim*, colonel Alvares, who succeeded Alvear. The correspondence on this occasion is annexed. (Appendix II.) Other endeavours to reconcile him have failed, notwithstanding the changes in the office of director at Buenos Ayres. On one occasion, the proposition was made, that the Banda Oriental, should remain independent of Buenos Ayres, and merely send deputies to the general congress, to concert measures against the common enemy. On another, when the Portuguese army was approaching the frontiers of the Banda Oriental, an effort was made by Pueyrredon to reconcile him, and to unite him in the common defence. Ample supplies of arms, and munitions of war were offered, and some furnished, but this attempt also failed.

In order that a fuller view of this subject may be had, I have subjoined a translated copy of an animated letter from general Artigas, to Mr. Pueyrredon. (Appendix I.) It is but justice to add, that general Artigas, is thought by persons entitled to credit, to be a firm friend to the independence of the country. To express a decided opinion on this delicate question, would scarcely be expected of me, as my position did not command a view of the whole ground. I had not the satisfaction to be derived from a personal interview with general Artigas, who is, unquestionably, a man of rare and singular talents. But if I were to hazard a conjecture, I think it not improbable, that in this, as in most family disputes, there have been faults on both sides. It is to be lamented, that they are in open hostility. The war has been prosecuted

with great animosity, and in two late engagements, the troops of Buenos Ayres have been defeated with great loss. By some it was said, that the inhabitants of the eastern shore were anxious that a reconciliation would take place, whilst the people in the country preferred their present state.

I must not omit to take a glance at the situation of Paraguay. This province presents a singular spectacle. It stands aloof from the rest. The people, with the aid of the few remaining royal troops, repulsed an army, sent to compel them to join the common standard. Very soon afterwards they expelled the royalists, and set up for themselves. Since this period, they appear to have adopted a partial non-intercourse system. But Buenos Ayres, on one occasion, succeeded in obtaining an understanding with them. Some suspect that they are secretly inimical to the existing order of things, and wish to keep themselves within their shell in case of a change, that they may profit by future events; others, calculate with some confidence, on their ultimate union with Buenos Ayres, with which, at present, they indulge a limited, and reluctant intercourse. Paraguay is under the immediate controul of a person named Francia, who styles himself dictator of Paraguay.

From the domestic concerns of the provinces, we naturally turn to their foreign relations. On this subject, the commissioners were informed, that they had nothing more than a friendly understanding with any foreign nation. With the Portuguese government, they concluded an arrangement in 1812, under the mediation, it is said, of the British, with respect to the Banda Oriental. They have since had a correspondence with them, on the subject of their entrance into that province, and the forcible occupation, by a Portuguese army, of the city of Monte Video, of which a copy is annexed. (Appendix J.) This will present the state of affairs between Buenos Ayres and the Brazils, which has been the theme of much discussion. The superior naval force of the Portuguese, stationed in the river La Plata, could have effectually blockaded all the ports of Buenos Ayres. By this means, they would have prevented supplies of arms and munitions of war, and entirely destroyed the great source of revenue to the state, the duties on

imports and tonnage, at a season when money was much wanted. For about this period, Buenos Ayres had a powerful army to contend with on the side of Peru, and had taken the burden of the renewed contest of Chili with Spain. Under such circumstances, they were, in some measure, obliged to adopt a cautious and moderate policy. Their conduct, in this respect, seems to have been coerced. Their unhappy state with the Orientals, had also an influence on their measures; they alleged, that the restless conduct of Artigas, had furnished the Portuguese with a pretext for the invasion; but it is probable that they will ultimately break with the government of Brazils.

The British government have, through their official agents, entered into commercial stipulations with general Artigas, as the chief of the Orientals, on the subject of their trade with the eastern shore. A copy of this instrument will be found in Appendix (K.)

The government of Buenos Ayres have a confidential person in Europe, soliciting from England, and other powers, it is said, assistance of every kind, and a recognition of their independence. England has a consul, who, with her naval commander on that station, appeared to conduct the confidential affairs of the British cabinet, with the government of Buenos Ayres.

What effects the victory of Maipu will produce abroad, it would be hazardous to me to conjecture. Whether like the capture of Burgoyne, it will procure for the United Provinces, foreign alliances, I cannot pretend to say.

From a source which is entitled to credit, I was informed that the raising and embarkation of Osorio's army in Peru, was not accomplished without serious difficulties. Alternate force and persuasion were used to collect them, and nothing but the name, character, and promises of their general, could have induced them to go on board of the vessels prepared for the purpose, at the port of Callao. Some of them were actually in a state of mutiny, notwithstanding they were told they would be received with open arms by their brethren in Chili.

The forces finally embarked, agreeably to an account furnished

by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, on the spot, consisted of the following troops:

Company of artillery - - - - - - - -	70
Company of sappers and miners - - - -	81
Regiment of Brugos - - - - - - - -	900
Regiment of San Carlos infantry - - - -	907
Regiment of Arequipa - - - - - - - -	1000
Arequipa dragoons - - - - - - - - -	160
Lamas - - - - - - - - - - - - -	144
	3,262

This army was composed of all the regular soldiers they could spare from Lima, who were united at Talcaguna, to the royal forces left in Chili. By the battle of Maipu, it has ceased to exist. The probable effects in Peru, and other parts of South America, may be conjectured, but cannot be affirmed. The same gentleman who has been mentioned, and who is conversant in Peruvian affairs, apprehended that important changes would result.

I cannot conclude this paper, without drawing your attention to a rapid survey of the reforms and improvements in the province of Buenos Ayres, produced by the revolution and its influence on knowledge, society, and manners.

The effects of the revolution are visible in the changes produced in the state of society. The difference in the freedom of acting and thinking, from that which preceded the revolution, must necessarily be great. The freedom of commerce must have given a spring to exertions of native enterprise and intelligence, while the active scenes of war and politics, for the last ten years, have awakened the genius of the country, which had so long slumbered. The generation now on the stage, may almost be said to have been reared under a new order of things. The common stock of ideas among the people, has been greatly augmented, the natural consequence of the important political events which daily transpire, and in which every man, like the citizen of Athens, feels an interest. The newspapers are every where circulated, together with the ma-

nifestoes of the government, which is obliged to court the approbation of public opinion, on all measures of moment. It is not very unusual for the same countryman, who, a few years ago, never troubled himself about any thing beyond the narrow circle of his domestic concerns, to purchase a newspaper on coming to town, as a matter of course, and if unable to read, to request the first one he meets to do him that favour. The country curates are moreover enjoined to read the newspapers and manifestoes, regularly to their flocks. The spirit of improvement may be seen in every thing. Even some of those who are under the influence of strong prejudices against the revolution, frequently remark the changes for better, which have taken place. Their habits, manners, dress, and mode of living, have been improved by intercourse with strangers, and the free introduction of foreign customs, particularly English, American, and French. Great prejudices prevail against whatever is Spanish. It is even offensive to them, to be called by this name; they prefer to be identified with the aborigines of the country. The appellation which they have assumed, and in which they take a pride, is that of South Americans.

A powerful stimulus must necessarily have been given to their industry, by two important circumstances: the diminution in prices of foreign merchandise, and the great increase in value of the products of the country, with the consequent rise of property. Though the grounds in the neighbourhood of cities are highly improved, as I have already stated, agriculture, comparatively speaking, is in a low condition. In general, the lands are badly tilled. The plough is rarely used, and the substitute is a very indifferent one. But notwithstanding the disadvantages of the present method of culture, I was informed by reputable persons, that the average crop of wheat is not less than fifty bushels per acre, in good seasons.

On the subject of religion, especially, the change in the public mind, has been very great. The Catholic faith is established as that of the state, but there are many advocates, both in conversation and in writing, of universal toleration. Some members of congress, are said to be strongly in favour of it; but the ignorant and superstitious part of the people, together with the regular clergy,

would not be satisfied with such a measure, while the liberality prevailing among the better informed classes, is such, as to secure a virtual toleration for the present. Besides, from the circumstance of there being no sects in the country, such a provision may wait the progress of liberality in public opinion. In fact, the human mind has been set free, on all matters of a general abstract nature, although the liberty of the press is circumscribed, in some degree, with respect to strictures on public measures and men, and the established religion; but there is neither inquisition nor previous license. They acknowledge the pope as a spiritual head merely, and do not think him entitled to any authority to interfere in their temporal concerns. His bull in favour of the king of Spain, against the colonists, which may be almost regarded as an excommunication, produced little or no sensation.

The number of monks and nuns, never was very great in Buenos Ayres, when compared with other portions of the Spanish dominions. They have diminished since the revolution. There was at one time, a positive law passed, forbidding any one to become a monk or a nun; but they were obliged to repeal it, and it was afterwards passed with some modifications. The restrictions substituted, aided by public opinion, have nearly produced the desired effect. Few of the youth of the country, apply themselves to the study of theology, since other occupations much more tempting to their ambition, have been opened to their choice. Formerly, the priesthood was the chief aim of young men of the best families, who were desirous of distinction; as in fact, it constituted almost the only profession to which those who had received a liberal education, could devote themselves; which will readily account for the circumstance of so many of the secular clergy directing their attention, at present, exclusively to politics. The regular clergy, who are permitted by the nature of their profession, to take part in the business of the world, or to hold secular offices, are many of them Europeans; but those of them who are natives, take the same lively interest in passing events, with the other classes of the community.

They have gone cautiously to work in reforms, in the different branches of their municipal laws, and the administration of them

The number of offices has been considerably diminished, and responsibility rendered more direct and severe. The judiciary system has undergone many improvements, and nearly all the leading features of the law, which did not harmonise with the principles of free government, have been expunged, though some of the former evils still remain. The barbarous impositions on the aborigines, have been abolished. The odious alcavalla, and other obnoxious taxes, modified, so as no longer to be vexatious; slavery and the slave trade forbidden in future; and all titles of nobility prohibited, under the pain of the loss of citizenship. The law of primogentiture is also expunged from their system. In the provisional statute, as has been stated, nearly all the principles of free representative government are recognised, accompanied it is true, with certain drawbacks, for which they plead the necessity of the times, but which, they profess their intention to do away, on the final settlement of the government; a consummation anxiously desired by all classes of inhabitants. The example of France has warned them not to attempt too much at first; they have followed the plan of the United States, in the introduction of gradual reforms, instead of resorting to violent and sudden innovations and revolutions.

Next to the establishment of their independence by arms, the education of their youth appears to be the subject of the most anxious interest. They complain, that every possible impediment was thrown in the way of education, previous to the revolution; that so far from fostering public institutions for this purpose, several schools were actually prohibited in the capital, and the young men were not without restraint, permitted to go abroad for their education. There was a college at Cordova, at which those destined for the bar, or the priesthood, completed their studies, upon the ancient monkish principles. Another called San Carlos, (now the Union of the South,) had been opened at Buenos Ayres, but was afterwards converted into barracks for soldiers. It is an immense building, more extensive, perhaps, than any which has been dedicated to learning in this country; and it has lately been fitted up at very great expense. The school was to have opened in May or June, on a more modern and liberal plan of discipline and in-

struction. The library of the state, is kept in an adjoining building; it occupies a suit of six rooms, and contains near twenty thousand volumes, the greater part rare and valuable. It is formed out of the library of the Jesuits, the books collected in the different monasteries, donations from individuals, and an annual appropriation by the government, and contains works on all subjects, and in all the languages of the polished nations of Europe. A very valuable addition has been lately made, of several thousand volumes, brought to Buenos Ayres by Mr. Bonpland, the companion of the celebrated Humboldt.

Besides the university of Cordova, at which there are about one hundred and fifty students, there are public schools in all the principal towns, supported by their respective corporations. In Buenos Ayres, besides an academy, in which are taught the higher branches, and the college before mentioned, there are eight public schools, for whose support, the corporation contributes about seven thousand dollars annually; and, according to the returns of last year, the number of scholars amounted to eight hundred and sixty-four. There are five other schools, exclusively for the benefit of the poor, and under the charge of the different monasteries; these are supplied with books and stationery at the public expense. There are also parish schools in the country, for the support of which, a portion of the tithes has been lately set apart. It is rare to meet with a boy, ten or twelve years of age, in the city of Buenos Ayres, who cannot read and write. Besides the scholars thus instructed, many have private tutors. In addition to all this, I must not omit to mention the military academies supported by government at Buenos Ayres and Tucuman, at which there are a considerable number of cadets.

There are no prohibited books of any kind; all are permitted to circulate freely, or to be openly sold in the book stores; among them is the New Testament in Spanish. This alone, is a prodigious step towards the emancipation of their minds from prejudices. There are several book stores, whose profits have rapidly increased: a proof that the number of readers has augmented in the same proportion. There had been a large importation of English books, a language becoming daily more familiar to them. Eight years

ago, the mechanic art of printing was scarcely known in Buenos Ayres: at present, there are three printing offices, one of them is very extensive, containing four presses. The price of printing is, notwithstanding, at least three times higher than in the United States; but as there is no trade, or intercourse with Spain, all school books used in the country, some of them original, are published at Buenos Ayres; the business is, therefore, profitable, and rapidly extending. There are many political essays, which, instead of being inserted in the newspapers, are published in loose sheets: there are also original pamphlets, as well as republications of foreign works. The constitution of the United States, and of the different states, together with a very good history of our country, and many of our most important state papers, are widely circulated. The work of Dean Funes, the venerable historian of the country, comprised in three large octavo volumes, considering the infancy of the typographic art in this part of the world, may be regarded as an undertaking of some magnitude.

There are three weekly journals, or newspapers, published in the city, which have an extensive circulation through the United Provinces. They all advocate the principles of liberty and republican forms of government, as none other would suit the public taste. The year before last, it is true, one of the papers ventured to advocate the restoration of the Incas of Peru, with a limited monarchy, but it was badly received. No proposition for the restoration of hereditary power of any kind, as far as I could learn, will be seriously listened to for a moment by the people. Even the ordinary language has changed. They speak of "the state," "the people," "the public," "the country," and use other terms, as in the United States, implying the interest that each man takes in what appertains to the community. The first principle constantly inculcated is, "that all power rightfully emanates from the people." This, and similar dogmas, form a part of the education of children, taught at the same time with their catechism. It is natural, that the passion for free government, should be continually increasing. A fact may be mentioned, to shew the solid advancement they have made, which is, that the number of votes taken at their elections, increases every year. In becoming habituated to this peaceful and

orderly mode of exercising their right of choosing those who are to be invested with authority, the tumultuous and irregular removal, by a kind of general acclamation of those who have been chosen, will gradually cease.

Rather than disturb the order of society, they will endure with patience, until the time arrives, for effecting a regular and constitutional change. Since the election of the present director, none of these tumults, before so frequent, have occurred. These tumults have seldom been attended with blood-shed; yet they produce great confusion and disorder, and give rise to habits of insubordination, at the same time that they are ruinous to the character of a nation.

The viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres differed from the rest in one important particular. It contained no nobility, or if any, very few. This may be regarded as a favourable circumstance in their society. Another favourable feature, very necessary to the successful administration of their affairs, is the conduct of many individuals who have filled the highest office of state, in descending from that dignified situation to inferior posts, and discharging their duties with alacrity. Thus we behold General A. Balcarce, who was formerly director, acting as second in command to Colonel San Martin; Colonel Alvarez, also a director at one period, now serving in the staff, under the chief of that department; General Azcuenega and General Rondeau, once elected to the chair of state, is at present employed in a minor office. There are others who have occupied the same elevated post, who have retired to the station of private citizens.

The general capacities of the United Provinces for national defence, are also important in many respects. The nature and extent of the country afford the inhabitants numerous advantages over an invading army. The ease with which their herds of cattle may be driven to distant places, beyond the reach of an enemy, and the rapid movements the troops of the country can make, from the ample supply of horses and mules, are circumstances of great consequence in a military view. Even the towns not fortified, from the manner in which they are built, and from the construction of their houses, furnish powerful means of defence, as the British

army, under General Whitelock, experienced in their attack on Buenos Ayres.

I am sensible that, in the course of these statements and remarks, some inaccuracies and errors must have occurred, but they have been unintentional. I have only to add, that the reception of the commissioners at Buenos Ayres, by the chief magistrate, was friendly and flattering. From every class, they met with a cordial welcome. The people, in general, appeared to be very much attached to the American character, and the government and citizens of the United States.

Should any thing further occur, it shall be made the subject of a future paper.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) C. A. RODNEY.

Mr. Graham to the Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, 5th Nov. 1818.

SIR,

Mr. Rodney having undertaken to draw up, for our joint signature, a report respecting the present situation of the country we recently visited under the orders of the president, and circumstances having prevented him from presenting it to me for perusal until his late arrival in this city, I was not aware until then, that I should have occasion to present to you my individual views on that subject. But on an attentive perusal of the paper he drew up, I found, that although there was not perhaps any important fact on which we essentially differed, yet that some were stated of which I was not aware; and that we had taken views which it might be difficult to combine during the short time then allowed to us, and of which it might be proper that you should be put in possession. Under these circumstances, I thought it better to submit to the disadvantage of hastily throwing my observations together, and of presenting them separately, than to ask him to

derange the general tenor of his report by introducing them into it.

The arrival of Mr. Bland, who will necessarily make a separate report, will, I trust, reconcile the president to the course I have taken, as from a combined view of what we individually state, he may, perhaps, be better enabled to draw his own inferences as to the actual situation and future prospects of the country we visited, than from any just report in which we could all have agreed, as under ordinary circumstances, that must have been the result of a compromise of opinions, and would probably have excluded some facts, or some views, which, one or the other of us, will, in the mode now adopted, present to you.

In my particular situation, however, I thought it less necessary to go into detail, as I knew that the report of Mr. Rodney would furnish information on points which I omit.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN GRAHAM.

Hon. John Q. Adams, Secretary of State.

The country formerly known as the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, extending from the north western sources of the river La Plata to the southern cape of America, and from the confines of Brazil and the ocean, to the ridge of the Andes, may be considered as that which is called "The United Provinces of South America."

Under the royal government, it was divided into the intendencies, or provinces, of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno. Subsequently to the revolution, in the year 1814, another division was made; and from the provinces of Cordova, Salta, and Buenos Ayres, were taken those of Cuyo or Mendoza, Tucuman, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and the Banda Oriental. The others, it is believed, retained their former boundaries, and, with the exception of Paraguay, are generally called "Upper Peru."

This widely extended country embraces almost every variety of climate and soil, and is capable of almost every variety of production. A large part of it, however, particularly on the west side of the river La Plata, and southerly towards cape Horn, is deficient in wood, even for fuel; and in water, that which is found is generally brackish.

Although three centuries have passed by since the Spaniards made their first settlement in this country, and some considerable towns and cities have grown in it; yet its general improvement and population have by no means kept pace with them, for the lower provinces have been almost entirely abandoned to the immense herds of cattle which graze on their plains, and require only the partial care of a comparatively few herdsmen; and the inhabitants of Upper Peru have been engaged more generally in the business of mining than was favorable to improvement or population. Certain small districts, having peculiar advantages, are said to be well cultivated, and very productive; but agriculture has, in general, been very much neglected. It is, in a great degree, confined to the vicinity of the towns and cities, and may be said to limit its supplies to their demands. This state of things, combined with the regulations of the former government, the influence of climate, and the force of example, has stamped the character of indolence upon that class of society usually considered as the laboring class. The same causes have not operated, at least, not with the same force, upon the other inhabitants of the country; hence, they are more industrious, and more active. Their manners are social, friendly, and polite. In native talents they are said to be inferior to no people; and they have given proofs that they are capable of great and persevering efforts; that they are ardently attached to their country, and warmly enlisted in the cause of its independence.

It is not necessary for me to enter into a detail of the causes which led to the revolution in 1810. The most immediate, perhaps, are to be found in the incidents connected with the two invasions of the country by the British, in the years 1805 and 1806, and in the subsequent events in Spain, as they have had a direct tendency to show these people their own strength and the inca-

pacity of Spain to give them protection, or enforce obedience. The groundwork was, however, laid in the jealous and oppressive system adopted at a more early period by the kings of Spain, whose policy it seemed to be, to keep within as narrow limits as circumstances would permit, the intelligence, wealth, and population of that part of America subject to their dominion, as the surest means of preserving an empire, which they considered the great source of their wealth and power.

The revolution having been auspiciously commenced in the city of Buenos Ayres, was warmly and zealously supported by the great mass of the people descended from the Spaniards; but the native Spaniards, as well those domesticated in the country, as those in the service of the king, were almost all opposed to it, particularly at the time, and under the circumstances it took place. Dissentions were the immediate result, and their long standing jealousy and distrust of each other, have, by subsequent events, been heightened into deadly hostility, which time alone can wear away. These dissentions have been considered as one of the causes that produced those which subsequently took place amongst the patriots themselves, and which have been most serious obstacles to the progress of the revolution. Other obstacles, however, have been presented by the royal government in Peru, which has hitherto not only been able to maintain itself there, but has found means, by enlisting the native Peruvians into its service, to send, at different times, considerable armies into the upper provinces on the La Plata, where the war has been carried on from the commencement of the revolution to the present day, with various success; the great extent and peculiar character of the country, and the want of resources having prevented either party from making a blow, decisive of the contest. When we came away, the advantage in that quarter was on the side of the Spaniards, as they were in possession of the provinces of Upper Peru, which had, to a certain degree at least, joined in the revolution, and some of which are represented in the congress. Every where else, they have been obliged to yield up the government, and abandon the country, or submit to the ruling power. The peculiar situation of Monte Video, on the east side of the river La Plata, open to the

sea, and strongly fortified, enabled the Spanish naval and military forces, at an early period in the revolution, to make a stand there; they were ultimately obliged to surrender it, not, however, until long protracted, and perhaps ill directed efforts on the part of the assailants, had given rise to many jarring incidents between those who came from the opposite shores of the rivers, probably the effect, in part at least, of ancient jealousies, kept alive by the individual interests of particular leaders; these have been followed by events calculated to produce a still greater alienation; and although several attempts have been made to bring about a union, they have hitherto been unsuccessful. The provinces of the Banda Oriental, and the Entre Rois, on the eastern side of the river, under the direction of general Artigas, are now at war with those on the western side, under the government of the congress at Buenos Ayres.

This war has originated from a combination of causes, in which both parties have perhaps, something to complain of, and something to blame themselves for.

General Artigas and his followers profess a belief, that it is the intention of the government of Buenos Ayres to put them down, and oblige them to submit to such arrangements as will deprive them of the privileges of self-government, to which they claim to have a right. They say, however, that they are willing to unite with the people on the western side of the river; but not in such a way as will subject them to what they call the tyranny of the city of Buenos Ayres. On the other hand, it is stated that this is merely a pretext; that the real object of general Artigas, and of some of his principal officers, is to prevent a union on any terms, and to preserve the power they have acquired, by giving an erroneous excitement to the people who follow them. That it is wished and intended to place these provinces on a footing with the others. That the respectable portion of their inhabitants are aware of this fact, and anxious for a union, but are prevented from openly expressing their sentiments, from a fear of general Artigas, whose power is uncontrolled by law or justice, and hence the propriety and necessity of aiding them to resist it. Armies have accordingly been marched, within the present year, into

these provinces; but they were not joined by a number of the inhabitants, and were defeated with great loss.

This war is evidently a source of great injury and regret, and at the same time of extraordinary irritation to both parties; for independently of other causes of recrimination, each accuses the other of having brought about that state of things, which threatens to place a most important and valuable portion of their country in the hands of a foreign power, who has invaded it with a regular and well appointed army, and is gradually taking possession of commanding points, from which it may be difficult for their united force hereafter to dislodge them. That they will unite, is, I think, to be calculated on, unless some event, disastrous to the cause of the revolution itself takes place; for their mutual interest requires a union. But more of moderation and discretion, may be necessary to bring it about, than is at this time to be expected, from the irritated feelings of some of the principal personages on both sides.

The city of Santa Fee, and a small district of country around it, also refuse to acknowledge the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres.

In Paraguay, the events of the revolution have differed from those in any other province, as the inhabitants of that country have uniformly resisted the efforts of the other provinces to unite with them. After having aided the Spanish placed over them, to repel a military force which had been sent to overthrow them, they themselves expelled from their country these authorities, and established a government of their own, totally unconnected with that of the other provinces, with whom they manifest an unwillingness to keep up even a commercial intercourse. This has given rise to a suspicion in the minds of some, that there is a secret predilection among them for the ancient order of things. But from what is said of their cold and calculating character, from the safe position of their country, and its capacity to supply its own wants, it is probable that their object is to husband their resources, and profit by the exertions of others, without giving their own in aid of them; and possibly in case of ultimate failure, to place their conduct in a less objectionable point of view

before the government of Spain. Whatever may have been their motives, they have hitherto contrived to escape, in a great measure, the evils of war.

Their resources in men and money are said to be considerable, and no country is more independent of foreign supplies.

Their conduct furnishes a striking contrast to that of the people of Buenos Ayres, who entered into the revolution with unbounded zeal and energy, and have ever been ready to meet the difficulties of so great an undertaking. This circumstance, connected with their local situation, greater resources, and more general information; and perhaps the fact of their having been the first to get power into their hands, have had the effect to give them a controling influence over the revolutionary government, which has not failed to excite, in some degree, the jealousy of the other provinces, and amongst themselves a feeling of superiority little calculated to allay that jealousy. Great evils were, at one time, apprehended from this state of things, but the congress which met at Tucuman, in March, 1816, composed of deputies from the several provinces then united, assumed the sovereign power of the country, boldly declared its absolute independence, and adopted a provisional form of government, which is understood to have the effect of allaying dissentions, and of introducing a more regular administration of public affairs.

It will be seen from the documents in your possession, that this provisional constitution recognises many of the principles of free government; but with such drawbacks as are little calculated to enforce them in practice. Great allowances are doubtless to be made for the circumstances of the times, and the danger and difficulty of tearing up ancient institutions, or of adapting new principles to them; but after due allowance for all these considerations, it did not appear to me that so much had been done for the cause of civil liberty, as might have been expected, or that those in power were its strongest advocates.

It is generally admitted, however, that some changes for the better have been made. Much care seems to be taken to educate the rising generation, and as those who are now coming on the theatre of action have grown up since the commencement of the

revolution, and have had the advantage of the light thrown in by it, it is fair to suppose, that they will be better prepared to support and administer a free government than those whose habits were formed under the colonial government of Spain.

The commerce and manufactures of the country have grown beyond its agriculture. Various causes, however, have contributed to lessen some branches of manufacture since the revolution, but commerce is understood to have increased by it. A much greater variety and quantity of foreign goods are imported, and a greater demand is open for the productions of the country. The city of Buenos Ayres is the seat of this commerce. From it, foreign, and some domestic goods, are spread through the interior as far as Chili and Upper Peru, and in return, the various productions are drawn to it. This trade is carried on principally by land, as is that between the different provinces, though some small portion of it finds its way up and down the large rivers forming the La Plata; which is itself not so much a river as a great bay. The abundance of cattle, horses, and mules, and some other animals peculiar to the country, which are used in the mountainous regions of Peru, furnish facilities for transportation, not to be found in any other country so little improved; hence, the price of transportation is very low, and the internal trade greater than it otherwise would be, though it had been materially lessened in some important branches by the war with Peru, and the system adopted in Paraguay.

The export and import trade is principally in the hands of the British, though the United States and other nations participate in it to a certain degree. It is depended on as the great source of revenue to the state—hence they have been tempted to make the duties very high, and to lay them upon both imports and exports, with the exception of lumber and military stores. This circumstance, connected with the fact, that payment is demanded at the custom house before the goods are delivered, has led to a regular system of smuggling, which is said to be carried to great excess, and doubtless occasions the official returns to fall short of the actual amount of the trade. This may be the reason why they were not given to us. The articles imported are almost

every variety of European and East India goods, principally from England. Rum, sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and timber from Brazil. Lumber of almost every description, cod fish, furniture, gin, and some smaller articles, from the United States, together with military stores, which, however, find their way into the country directly from Europe, and are thus furnished at a cheaper rate than we can sell them. The principal articles of export are taken from the various animals of the country, tame and wild, from the ox to the chinchilla, copper from Chili, and some of the precious metals, drawn principally from Peru; but as gold is worth 17 dollars pr. oz. and passed by tale at that rate, very little of it is exported. Hence the currency of the country is gold, for they have no paper money. The "Libranzas," or bills of credit, issued by the government, are, however, an article of traffic among the merchants, as they are received in payment of one half of the duties. No distinction is made in favour of the trade of any nation, save only that the British merchants have some peculiar facilities granted them in relation to their letters, which are an object of taxation, at least so far as applies to those sent out of the country.

In the official statements given to us, and to which I beg leave generally to refer for information as to the foreign relations, the productions, military and naval force, revenue and population, the latter is stated at 1,300,000, exclusive of Indians. This is understood as comprehending the population of all the provinces; but as some of them are not under the government at Buenos Ayres, I have thought it proper to annex the several estimates I collected of the population of each province, as they may serve to give some general information on that point. The most immediate difficulty felt by the government whilst we were in the country, seemed to arise from the want of money; for although the debt was small, their credit was low. It had not been found practicable to adopt a system of finance adequate to the exigencies of the times, though it would seem, from the statement given to us, that the revenue of the last year exceeded the expenses. The important events of the present year in Chili, of which you are informed, will doubtless, have the effect to raise the credit of the

country, and to lessen the pressure upon it at least for a time; and will probably leave the government more at leisure to attend to its internal affairs.

When we came away, it was understood that a committee of the congress was engaged in drafting a new constitution; the power of forming and adopting it being exclusively vested in the congress. Whether it will assume a federal or national character is somewhat doubtful, as there are evidently two parties in the country, whose views in this respect are very different, and it is believed that they are both represented in the congress. The one party is in favour of a consolidated, or national government—the other wishes for a federal government, somewhat upon the principle of that of the United States. The probability seems to be, that although there might be a majority of the people in the provinces, generally in favour of the federal system, that it would not be adopted, upon the ground that it was not so well calculated as a national government, to provide for the common defence, the great object now in view. The same general reason may be urged perhaps, for giving to the latter, should it be adopted, less of a republican character than probably would have been given to it, in more quiet and peaceful times. There is danger too, as the power of forming and adopting the constitution is placed in the hands of a few, that the rights and privileges of the people may not be so well understood, or attended to, as they should have been, had the people themselves had a more immediate agency in the affair. It is not to be doubted, however, that it will at least have a republican form, and be bottomed upon the principles of independence, which is contended for by all descriptions of politicians in the country, who have taken part in the revolution, and will, it is believed, be supported by them in any event, to the last extremity.

The means of defence of which they are fully aware, are in proportion to their numbers, greater perhaps, than those of almost any other people, and the duration, and the events of war, have strenghtened the general determination never to submit to Spain. This determination rests upon the recollection of former sufferings and deprivations; upon a consciousness of their ability to

defend and to govern themselves: and upon a conviction, that in case of submission, on any terms, they would sooner or later, be made to feel the vengeance of the mother country. These considerations doubtless have the most weight upon the minds of those, who have taken a leading part. They of course use all their influence to enforce them, and thus to keep up the spirit of the revolution. In this they probably have had the less difficulty, as although the sufferings of the people have been great, particularly in military service, and in raising the contributions necessary for that service; yet the incubus of Spanish power being thrown off, and with it that train of followers who filled up almost every avenue to wealth and consequence, the higher classes have been awakened to a sense of advantage they did not before enjoy. They have seen their commerce freed from legal restraints. Their articles of export become more valuable, their supplies furnished at a lower rate, and all the offices of government, or other employments, laid open to them, as fair objects of competition. The lower classes have found their labour more in demand and better paid for; and their importance in society greater than it formerly was.

They are yet, however, from their indolence, general want of education, and the great mixture of "casts" among them, in a degraded state, but little felt in the affairs of the government. The stimulus now given will operate to produce a change in them for the better, and it is to be presumed will gradually have its effect, as their docility, intelligence, and activity, when called into service, give evidence that they are not deficient in natural or physical powers.

Labour, as it becomes more general, will become less irksome to individuals, and the gradual acquisition of property, which must necessarily result from it in such a country, under a good government, will doubtless produce the happy effects there which it has uniformly produced elsewhere; and more especially in countries where the population is small when compared to the extent of territory.

I am very sensible that I may have been led into errors of fact, or inference. In that case, I can plead honesty of intention and

the difficulty of collecting at a single point, and within aspmited time, correct information; or of analyzing that which was collected, respecting a people in a state of revolution who are spread over an immense country, and whose habits, institutions, and language are so different from our own.

I have only to add that we were politely received by the supreme director, who made every profession for our government, and every offer of accommodation to us, as its agents, which we had a right to expect; and that the people manifested on all occasions the most friendly dispositions.

Estimate of the population of the United Provinces, represented in Congress.

	By an imperfect census taken, it is believed, in 1815, excluding troops, and transient persons and Indians.	By more recent estimates, excluding Indians.	Excluding Indians.	Including Indians.
Buenos Ayres,	98,105	105,000	120,000	250,000
Cordova,		75,000	75,000	100,000
Tucuman,		45,000	45,000	20,000
Santiago del Estero,		45,000	60,000	
Valle de Calamarca,		36,000	40,000	
Rioja,		20,000	20,000	
San Juan,		34,000	34,000	
Mendoza,		38,000	38,000	
San Luis,		16,000	16,000	
Jujuy,		25,000	25,000	
Salta,		50,000	50,000	
		489,000	523,000	

Not represented.

Provinces of Upper Peru.			
Cochabamba,	100,000	120,000	200,000
Potosi,	112,000	112,000	250,000
Plata, or Choreas,	112,000	112,000	175,000
La Paz,			300,000
Puno,	120,000		230,000
Paraguay,			300,000
Banda Oriental, and Entre Rios,	50,000		

NOTE—It is not understood that any part of the province of Corrientes, or that of the city, or district of Santa Fee, is included in this estimate; and some districts of some of the other provinces may be omitted.

END OF VOL. I.

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